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EDITORIAL

Biblical nonresistance is an ancient doctrine held and practiced by the early Christians on the basis of the teachings of the New Testament. It was lost in the days when apostolic Christianity was transformed into an imperial religion, and was revived in the Anabaptist movement of Reformation times. Since then it has been held by the Mennonites and a few other similar groups of Protestant Christians. *Pacifism* on the other hand is a modern philosophy of social and political action which developed largely in the latter half of the nineteenth century, and which is based primarily upon humanitarism and general idealism, although it is often closely related to Christian idealism based upon the teachings of Jesus. Frequently the distinction between the two is obscured, owing to the fact that both seek goals which are akin in the realm of peace and righteousness, even though their approach to the problem and techniques of action often differ widely.

In our day American Mennonites are the chief exponents of Biblical nonresistance, at least in practice, but they have given little attention to a theoretical exposition of their position. Professor Guy F. Hershberger gives us the first thoroughgoing critical comparison of nonresistance and pacifism in his article on that subject in this issue of the Review and in so doing likewise presents the first full-length statement of the essence of Biblical nonresistance as a theory of social action.

Only in German literature has Anabaptist and Mennonite material been used by first-class writers as themes. Elizabeth Horsch Bender, daughter of the late John Horsch, who has recently completed an extensive study of the Mennonite in German literature, presents in this issue a critique of the well-known novelette, *Ursula,* by the great Swiss German writer, Gottfried Keller. *Ursula* has probably had more influence than any other single book in creating a false concept of the Swiss Anabaptists, and Mrs. Bender has produced an exhaustive study of the authenticity of Keller's portrayal, showing that *Ursula* is in effect a caricature. In the next issue she will present a study of Ernst von Wildenbruch's drama, *Der Menonit.*

Professor A. J. F. Zieglschmid continues his careful editions of Hutterite material in diplomatic text with philological notes by presenting in this issue an important hymn of the eighteenth century. It is a long hymn of eighty stanzas, in effect history in poetic form, valuable both for its historical material and its portrayal of the spirit of a great people in the time of their agony.

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BIBLICAL NONRESISTANCE AND MODERN PACIFISM

GUY F. HERSHBERGER

NONRESISTANCE AND PACIFISM

While Christendom in general has surrendered almost completely on the question of war, the Biblical doctrine of nonresistance has nevertheless continued to live through more than nineteen centuries. Certain groups like the Waldenses helped to keep it alive in the middle ages, and the Mennonites have had a large part in doing so in the period since the Reformation. In addition to the Mennonites other individuals and groups have likewise had a share in this great mission. The Church of the Brethren has held to the Biblical doctrine of nonresistance from the beginning of its history in 1708, and in many other points of doctrine and practice the Brethren have resembled the Mennonites. In 1815 David Low Dodge, a Presbyterian layman, founded the New York Peace Society. He based his peace teachings entirely on the Bible and he was as thoroughly nonresistant as the Mennonites, or as the New Testament itself. Adin Ballou was another advocate of nonresistance in the early nineteenth century, although his teaching was not as fully Bible-centered as that of Dodge. Both of these men avoided political activity, how-

ever, because they believed this would involve them in actions inconsistent with the doctrine of nonresistance.[1]

Dodge and Ballou were active in the promotion of peace in an organized way, through the publication of literature, through addresses and sermons, and in numerous other ways. In addition to these men many other leaders were similarly engaged. Their number was so large and their activity was so great that this movement came to be known as the "peace movement" of the early nineteenth century. Since that time the peace movement has been a permanent institution in our American life. In times of war it has always declined in influence, but once the war was over it has generally become more active than before. It is important to observe, however, that not everything in the modern peace movement is Biblical nonresistance, the term most commonly used to describe that section of the movement which refuses all participation in warfare.

Nonresistance and pacifism are both scriptural terms taken from the Sermon on the Mount. The former is taken from the words of Jesus, "Resist not him that is evil."[2] The latter comes from the words, "Blessed are the peacemakers."[3] In the Latin Bible the word for peacemakers is *pacifici,* the direct English form of which is *pacifists.* There is nothing objectionable to the term pacifism as far as its original meaning goes. In some ways it is preferable to nonresistance because it is positive in its suggestion, while nonresistance seems more negative. But in evaluating any term its original meaning is not as important as its present use. The term nonresistance as commonly used today describes the faith and life of those persons who accept the Scriptures as the revealed will of God, and who cannot have any part in warfare because they believe the Bible forbids it, and who renounce all coercion, even nonviolent coercion. Pacifism, on the other hand, is a term which covers many types of opposition to war. Some modern so-called pacifists are opposed to all wars, and some are not. Some who oppose all wars find their authority in the will of God, while others find it largely in human reason. There are many other differences among them. It is therefore important to attempt a classification of modern pacifists and to compare and evaluate their philosophies.

1 For citations on the views of Ballou see *The Menn. Quar. Rev.* X (1936), pp. 83-85.
2 Mt. 5:39.
3 Mt. 5:9.

International Peace Plans

During the past six centuries many plans have been offered for maintaining the peace of the world.[4] The authors of some of these plans were pacifists in the sense that they would take no part in war themselves, but most of them were not. They merely believed that war is undesirable and offered plans which they hoped might prevent it. If these plans failed and their country became involved in war, however, they were ready to support it.

In the fourteenth century a French statesman named Pierre Dubois offered a plan for the federation of Europe under the leadership of France. He suggested an international court of arbitration, and proposed united military action of the federated powers against any nation which would violate the peace or reject the decisions of the court. About the same time Dante and Marsiglio of Padua proposed a world state under an all-powerful emperor. In the seventeenth century Henry V, king of France, and his minister Sully proposed an association of states having an armed international police at their command to enforce the maintenance of peace. About the same time Hugo Grotius of the Netherlands published a learned treatise on the laws of war and peace. In 1840 William Ladd, an American, published *An Essay on a Congress of Nations*. This was an elaborate plan for a parliament of representatives from all of the national states, and for a world court for the settlement of disputes. The establishment of the Hague Court in 1899 marked the beginning of some actual achievement along this line, and many hoped after the World War that the League of Nations and the permanent World Court be able to continue these efforts and make them so effective as to prevent another war. In the past twenty-five years numerous American organizations have been active in the promotion of peace plans similar to the League of Nations and the World Court. Among the organizations placing special emphasis on such efforts have been the National Council for Prevention of War, the Committee on the Cause and Cure of War, the League of Nations Association, the Foreign Policy Association, and others.

Some of the leaders in these organizations are pacifists who would refuse to take part in any war, and others are not. Certainly anyone who desires a more peaceable world would welcome a political system able to bring some order out of the present state of inter-

[4] For an excellent survey of international peace plans see S. J. Hemleben, *Plans for World Peace through Six Centuries* (Chicago, 1943).

national anarchy. This would be true of non-pacifists, pacifists, and Biblical nonresistants alike. Such an international organization would no doubt find it necessary to resort to force from time to time for the administration of justice. But if its affairs were honestly and sincerely administered, such use of force would be much less objectionable than that now exercised in our world at war. This is simply recognizing the fact that, since the world cannot get along without the use of force, it is better to put force behind law and order than behind the criminal.

This should make it clear that an international government such as that described here could not operate on nonresistant principles; and therefore a nonresistant Christian could hardly have any part in its administration. Many pacifists, however, would disagree with this point of view. They choose to think of the armed force of a league of nations as a police force rather than a military force, and they believe that the functions of the police and the military are fundamentally different. They consider the police officials for the lawful maintenance of order in a lawful society. The army on the battlefield, however, is thought of as engaged in a kind of banditry in an anarchistic international society. From this point of view the police is a law-abiding and law-preserving force, while the military is a law-breaking and a criminal force.

While it is true that the motives of a military police force sent out by a league of nations to punish an outlaw would be different from the motives of an army under the direction of an irresponsible conqueror, the resulting violence and bloodshed in the one case would perhaps be little different from the other. At best both the domestic and the international police are instruments for the maintenance of order by means of physical force. This is necessary in a sinful society, but is forbidden to nonresistant Christians who seek to follow the Christ who taught men when smitten on the one cheek to turn the other also. There may be intelligent and unintelligent, or just and unjust, uses of force by both the domestic and the international police. This makes the difference between good and bad government. But from the point of view of the statesmen as well as that of the nonresistant Christian, the domestic police and the international police (or army) are fundamentally the same. Any attempt to differentiate between them is to attempt a distinction without a difference.

The Quakers

In that section of the modern peace movement which is concerned with international organization and politics the Quakers have had a rather prominent part. In their history, they have frequently been active participants in the affairs of state. This interest is explained in part by their view of human nature. Most Quakers are not inclined to view the sinful nature of human society as seriously as the Mennonites do. Rufus Jones, leading world Quaker, a few years ago made this statement: "To apologize for sin as though it belonged to man's nature, to assume that he is a worm of the dust and necessarily evil are contrary to the entire idea of the Quaker."[5] From this point of view the state is hardly an association for the maintenance of order through the use of force in a sinful society, as it has been defined here. Walter G. Woodward has characterized the Quakers as "holding to a single standard of morality for the individual and for the political group, they believe that the state should be and can be Christianized."[6] Henry J. Cadbury has recently expressed the belief "that the kingdoms of the world may become the kingdom of the Lord and of his Christ."[7] This same optimism was expressed more than a hundred years ago by the Quaker theologian, Jonathan Dymond in his book, *"Essays on the Principles of Morality*: "There is however nothing *necessarily* incidental to the legal profession which makes it incompatible with morality;" "In political life we must exercise some of that confidence in the protection of God which we admire in individual life"; "That there are indications of an advancement of the human species toward greater purity in principle and in practice cannot, I think, be disputed."[8]

William Penn's ideas were much the same. Penn says: "They weakly err, that think there is no other use of government than correction, which is the coarsest part of it; daily experience tells us, that the care and regulation of many other affairs more soft and daily necessary make up much the greatest part of government; and which must have followed the peopling of the world, had Adam

[5] S. B. Laughlin (Ed.), *Beyond Dilemmas Quakers Look at Life* (New York, 1937).

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 219.

[7] H. J. Cadbury, "The Individual Christian and the State," *Friends World Conference Official Report* (Philadelphia, 1937), p. 35.

[8] J. Dymond, *Essays on the Principles of Morality and on the Private and Political Rights and Obligations of Mankind* (1829), pp. 183-4, 323, 470.

never fell, and will continue among men on earth under the highest attainments they may arrive at, by the coming of the blessed second Adam, the Lord from Heaven."[9] This statement gives the key to Penn's plan for the government of Pennsylvania. It was to be a government like that before the fall of Adam when "there was no need of coercive or compulsive means." And yet this same William Penn in 1693 proposed an international peace plan similar to the Grand Design of Henry IV, including an international army or police for the coercion of offenders. If this seems inconsistent with Penn's hatred of war it can probably be explained that he believed such an organization under Christian leadership would soon bring about such a happy state of affairs in the world that the power of coercion would never need to be used.

This belief is shared by many pacifists today. They believe that, if well intrenched in the government, they could direct the affairs of state into channels which would avoid the complications of war. In case the issue actually came to a head they believe they could take their stand and prevent a declaration of war. There is of course no doubt that a pacifist in government would have a more wholesome attitude on the war question than would a militarist. Christians will cherish every effort put forth by statesmen for the prevention of war. But to the present time history has not produced a single example of a pacifist state in the mixed society of the world, which has succeeded in the permanent prevention of war, let alone operating without prisons and a domestic police. Penn's holy experiment was the nearest approach to such a success, but after seventy-five years even this failed to the extent that the genuine peaceful Quakers who could not agree to military operations found it necessary to resign from the legislature which was appropriating funds for military purposes. The Pennsylvania experiment also proved rather unsuccessful from another point of view. Its politics, like politics everywhere, seemed to foster a struggle for power. Political parties were formed and pitted against each other to such an extent and in such a way as to destroy the peaceful spirit among them. This was related in a very direct way to the breakdown of the experiment in 1756.

Many Quakers do not feel, however, that this failure was necessary. Isaac Sharpless urges Quakers to give more attention to politics in our own day and thinks they should not have resigned from the

[9] From the preface of the *Frame of Government for Pennsylvania*, reprinted in the *Colonial Records*, 1:29-30.

government in Pennsylvania.[10] William I. Hull says the events of 1756 do not represent "the failure of the holy experiment and its principles, but the failure of those who failed to remain loyal to those principles. . . . Theoretically, I believe it *possible,* therefore, to base both private and public life on Matthew V and Romans XII."[11] Paul Comly French says: "I have the feeling that some group again should try the Quaker experiment of Penn to see if it isn't possible to work out. I personally think it is and believe it should be tried."[12]

Liberal Protestant Pacifism

The modern peace movement owes much to the leadership of pacifist ministers of various Protestant denominations. An outstanding example is Noah Worcester, a New England minister who founded the Massachusetts Peace Society in 1815. Worcester was not a Biblical nonresistant. He did not urge individual Christians to refuse military service. He proposed rather to conduct a program of education for peace until war itself would be abolished. He believed that when statesmen were once educated to see that peace is better than war they would cease to wage war, and then military service would no longer be a problem to the individual. He believed that if the school and the church and the press did their duty, within a hundred years the scourge of war would be completely wiped out of human society.[13]

A similar view was held by William Ellery Channing, the Unitarian minister, a contemporary of Worcester, whose chief concern was to change the social order so that war would no longer occur. That this happy state of affairs would come about in course of time, he did not doubt: "The tendencies of civilization are decidedly towards peace." "The influences of progressive knowledge, refinement, arts, and national wealth are pacific. The old motives of war are losing power. Conquest, which once maddened nations, hardly enters now into the calculation of statesmen."[14] Channing was spokesman for a school of religious idealists with great faith in man and his possi-

10 Isaac Sharpless, *Quakerism and Politics* (1905), pp. 87-88.

11 Letter from William I. Hull to Walter C. Woodward, April 5, 1937.

12 Letter from Paul C. French to Guy F. Hershberger, March 11, 1943.

13 Cf. Noah Worcester, *Solemn Review of the Custom of War* (1814) and his periodical, *The Friend of Peace* (1815).

14 W. E. Channing, *Discourses on War,* pp. 45-71.

bilities for progress. He represented a new type of Christianity which drew its strength in part from the New Testament, but perhaps more from the eighteenth century philosophers of France and England and their idea of progress.

Channing emphasized the dignity and goodness of man to such an extent that he underestimated the power of sin; and he was too optimistic as to the possibilities for social progress through the mere application of human intelligence. In his thinking, human reason was above revelation; man has a spark of the divine within himself; sin is not part of his nature. There is no sharp contrast between holiness and sin. According to this view Christ is not the redeemer of man, but rather his example. This view removes the need of personal regeneration; man through his own efforts, with a noble example to inspire him, is capable of infinite progress. Inspired by this idea, Channing looked for the early dawn of a golden age, not through regeneration as taught in the New Testament, but through intellectual and social enlightenment. In so doing he pointed the way to modern religious liberalism and the popular idealistic pacifism of the twentieth century.

Pacifism and the Social Gospel

An outstanding form of religious liberalism in the early twentieth century was that known as the "social gospel," the leading exponent of which was Walter Rauschenbusch. According to the New Testament the kingdom of God is a brotherhood of individuals who have renounced the sinful world and who have experienced individual salvation through faith in Christ. It is to this brotherhood of saved individuals that Jesus spoke the Sermon on the Mount and the doctrine of nonresistance. According to the social gospel, however, there is no sinful world to be renounced, in the New Testament sense. Man is inherently good, hence he is not in need of personal salvation. Sin is not a personal, but rather a social evil. The only salvation is social salvation. This constitutes making the world better by means of education and reform. Preachers of the social gospel did not strive to bring souls to salvation in Christ. They endeavored rather to remake the community, the city, the state and the international world. Then in such a remade world, they believed, everyone would be a Christian as a matter of course without any particular experience of his own.

According to the social gospel, sin is not due to any genuine evil in man. It is due only to his unfavorable environment. The social gospel would change the environment, so that whereas "it used to be hard to be good, it will become difficult to be bad."[15] When the social gospel is adopted the church gives up its evangelistic mission for the salvation of individual souls and becomes an agency for social reform. The emphasis is on the social order and its institutions. Advocates of the social gospel even speak of saved and unsaved institutions. An institution is saved if it is democratic, and unsaved if it is undemocratic. Monopolistic corporations are unsaved, but they can be saved through conversion into co-operatives. In the words of Rauschenbusch: "The corresponding step in the case of governments and political oligarchies, both in monarchies and in capitalistic semi-democracies, is to submit to real democracy. Therewith they step out of the kingdom of Evil into the Kingdom of God."[16]

Twentieth Century Pacifism

Twentieth century pacifism has been greatly influenced by the ideas of the social gospel. In the two decades following the World War the majority of American churches passed resolutions of one kind or another expressing opposition to war. It is interesting, however, to compare some of these resolutions.

Take for example the Mennonite Church. In 1937 the Mennonite General Conference expressed "appreciation for the endeavors of our governments . . . to promote peace and good will among nations, and to keep from war . . . and pray that their endeavors toward peace may be crowned with success." Here it should be noted that the church appreciates and prays for the government. It also gives to the government a clear testimony as to its own conviction on war. But there is no attempt to control the government and no demand that it follow a given course with respect to specific points of foreign policy. Its only demands are those which the New Testament directs to Christians themselves as regenerated members of the kingdom of God. "We believe that war is altogether contrary to the teaching and spirit of Christ and the Gospel, that therefore war is sin. . . . Therefore, if we profess the principles of peace and nevertheless engage in warfare and strife we as Christians be-

[15] Quoted in John Horsch, *The Social Gospel* (Scottdale, Pa., 1920), p. 6.

[16] Quoted in C. H. Hopkins, *The Rise of the Social Gospel in American Protestantism* (New Haven, 1940), p. 232.

come guilty of sin and fall under the condemnation of Christ, the righteous judge. . . . We can have no part in carnal warfare or conflict between nations, nor in strife between classes, groups or individuals. . . . According to the teaching and spirit of Christ and the Gospel we are to do good to all men. Hence we are willing to aid in the relief of those who are in need, distress or suffering. . . . We are ready to render such service in time of war as well as in time of peace. . . . If our country becomes involved in war, we shall endeavor to continue to live a quiet and peaceable life. . . . We confess that our supreme allegiance is to God, and that we cannot violate this allegiance by any lesser loyalty, but rather must follow Christ in all things, no matter what it cost."[17]

The above is the statement of a nonresistant church which thinks of peace as a fruit of the individual regenerated life. Between the lines one can read that the authors of this statement recognize that a government operating in a sinful society may find it necessary to do some things not in accord with the Christian ethic. Therefore, this statement does not attempt to say what the government policy shall be, although the rulers of state are definitely challenged to recognize the nonresistant demands of Christ upon those who would be Christians.

Now let us note some pacifist resolutions of religious bodies which reflect either the modern social gospel or the older Calvinist tradition that the church should control the state and the general social order. In 1925 the national council of the Congregational churches declared it the duty of the churches "to find a Christian way to meet international situations which threaten war."[18] In 1929 the Presbyterian general assembly renounced "war as an instrument of national policy."[19] In 1925 the Episcopal general convention declared that "the nations of the world must adopt a peace system . . . built on the conviction that war is unchristian in principle and suicidal in practice."[20] Many of the churches passed resolutions condemning tariff barriers and other economic causes making for war. In commenting on this Walter W. Van Kirk says: "The churches are speaking their mind on the cause and cure of war. . . . They are rapidly

[17] For the complete Mennonite statement of 1937 see *Report of the Twentieth Mennonite General Conference* (Scottdale, Pa., 1937), pp. 123-126.

[18] W. W. Van Kirk, *Religion Renounces War* (Chicago, 1934), p. 10.

[19] *Ibid.*, p. 10.

[20] *Ibid.*, p. 12.

pledging themselves to work for such changes in the social, political, and economic structure of modern society as will enhance the prospects for peace among the nations."[21] The Federal Council of Churches in 1933 urged the continuation of negotiations for disarmament and the abolition of "aggressive weapons" such as the bombing plane.[22] Van Kirk suggests further that "the churches of the world are determined to combat the whole war system . . . mankind will no longer pin its faith to any religious system that is helpless to stay the hand of the militarist. Either religion will put an end to war or war will put an end to religion. . . . Not until the full implication of this sovereign truth registers indelibly in the thinking processes of all who lift their faces Godward will any permanent advance be made in the crusade for a warless world."[23]

In 1941 Van Kirk attributed the failure of disarmament and outlawry of war schemes to the church's failure to get at the heart of the problem. What was needed was "a frontal attack on the anarchy of nations whose political and economic policies were dictated, in the main, by considerations of power and prestige."[24] Christians generally accept Jesus' teaching in personal relations, he says, but do not seem to realize that it applies in the relations of nations to each other as well. He pleads for an international organization able to use force for the maintenance of peace and justice. Such a use of force "is not immoral provided . . . it is organically representative of and responsible to the world society."[25]

Clearly this view does not think of the state merely as an association for the maintenance of order in the sinful society. It views the state rather as an agency for the Christianization of the social order, without the use of force if possible, but with the use of force if necessary. For the time being force is permissible for Christians if it contributes to social progress, but eventually, no doubt, it will be eliminated through the gradual Christianization of the social order. Rauschenbusch expresses this view in the following statement: "Jesus . . . lived in the hope of a great transformation of the national, social, and religious life about him. . . . The kingdom of God is . . . not a matter of saving human atoms, but of saving

21 *Ibid.*, p. 91.
22 *Ibid.*, pp. 118-19.
23 *Ibid.*, p. 253.
24 W. W. Van Kirk, *Religion and the World of Tomorrow* (Chicago, 1941), p. 9.
25 *Ibid.*, p. 53.

the social organism. It is not a matter of getting individuals to heaven, but of transforming the life on earth into the harmony of heaven."[26]

Believers in Biblical nonresistance find the social gospel and the pacifism of religious liberalism inadequate, not because they do not contain some fine ideals, but because they have a wrong conception of sin, of Christianity, and of the kingdom of God. The New Testament sees a great gulf between God and the sinful world, a gulf which will continue until the final judgment, for not until then will sin be brought to the end. The kingdom of God which the New Testament speaks of is brought into existence only through the supernatural power of God himself. It is made up of Christians who have experienced the saving grace of God in their personal lives; who have been saved from the sinful world to a life of service to God. Such Christians are concerned for the welfare of humanity and their influence on society may be considerable. But such changes as this influence may bring about within the sinful society of the world, however worthwhile they may be, do not constitute the kingdom of God. The kingdom is made up only of those who have been redeemed from, and called out of, the sinful society.

The great mistake of modern religious liberalism has been not to see this very important point. It has confused the kingdom of God with mere social improvements within sinful society, and in so doing it has identified the kingdom of God with the sinful social order itself. It has rejected salvation by faith and substituted a shallow, optimistic social evolution. Instead of receiving the divine will from a God who speaks from his throne above, religious liberalism speaks of experiencing God and practising the presence of God in a way that makes him identical with human experience. A God who is identical with human experience is not God. Having emptied God of his reality, religious liberalism no longer speaks the word of truth in condemnation of sin. The liberal church becomes a mere social agency, engaged in a variety of activities, which too often do not lead to any clear cut and positive action. When a Christian earnestly believes that the Sermon on the Mount was spoken by the Son of God with authority from heaven, and that this same Son of God will some day sit in judgment upon this evil world, he is going to do something about it. And when an entire

[26] W. Rauschenbusch, *Christianity and the Social Crisis* (New York, 1912), pp. 64-65.

Christian brotherhood is possessed by this faith it has the essentials for a solidarity which makes it possible to have a peace witness that commands respect and produces results. But when Jesus is thought of merely as a religious genius, as a product of human evolution, and when human society is thought to possess within itself the powers for its own healing, then men will adjust themselves in harmony with the world. When the Christian church once adjusts its program in harmony with the sinful world it has lost its own soul.[27]

Several years ago a stimulating book appeared which charged that this very thing had occurred in American Christendom.[28] The authors declared that the Christian church confronts a worldliness, within and without, which threatens to destroy it. The paramount issue of today is not: What can the church do to save itself? The church has adjusted itself too much to the world, and must turn away from temporal to eternal relations. The root of all this difficulty is substitution of faith in man for faith in God. "There has emerged a secularism which claims to represent the same high moral ideals that Christianity does, but without dependence upon the religious beliefs which are characteristic of the church. . . . It is an atheistic movement which claims to cultivate moral ideals of the same value as those defined by the church." This man-centered religion "has made man himself the end-all and be-all of existence." And as long as man lives for himself the world will be filled "with the cults of blood and race and nation. And in so far as that doctrine continues to dominate Western thought we may expect the recurring horrors of war and revolution, because it is a doctrine whose logic deprives mankind of a common frame of reference and in the end sets every man against every man."[29]

Nonviolent Resistance

A type of pacifism very prominent at the present time is that known as nonviolent resistance. Sometimes the term nonviolent coercion is used; sometimes nonviolent direct action. This type of pacifism owes much to William Lloyd Garrison, the American aboli-

[27] For a penetrating analysis of the modern idea of progress as compared with the New Testament kingdom of God see H. E. Brunner, *The Theology of Crisis* (New York, 1929).

[28] H. R. Niebuhr, W. Pauck and F. P. Miller, *The Church Against the World* (Chicago, 1929).

[29] *Ibid.*, pp. 32-33, 110-11.

tionist (1805-1879), who was a strong opponent of war. Although Garrison himself used the term nonresistance to describe his own faith, this term did not mean the same to him as it does to Biblical nonresistants such as the Mennonites. While his language was more Biblical than that of modern pacifists, and while he perhaps did not carry his direct action as far as Ghandi and his followers do today, he was nevertheless pointing in their direction.

When the New Testament speaks of justice it is to remind Christians that they must *do justice* in their relations with others. Jesus never commands his disciples to *seek justice* for themselves or to resist the rule of an unjust government. Paul at one time sent the Christian slave Onesimus home, admonishing him to be faithful to his master Philemon and serve him in Christian love. At the same time Paul admonished Philemon in a letter to deal with his slave in the same Christian spirit.[30] Certainly the institution of human slavery cannot continue long where this spirit of Christian brotherhood prevails: but just as surely this spirit does not permit the Christian to launch a crusade in search of social justice. When the state or society requires the Christian to disobey a command of God the New Testament clearly teaches that he must obey God rather than men. But the suffering of injustice is not such an act of disobedience to God, and therefore does not require defiance of the oppressor. The doing of justice, on the other hand, is always right for the Christian, for it places the emphasis on love for others But seeking justice for one's self places the emphasis on one's personal interest rather than on that of others, and frequently leads to very selfish action.

While Garrison always opposed violence and disapproved of the Civil War, his emphasis was nevertheless on the seeking of justice for the Negro, or for victims of injuries, whoever they might be. He describes nonresistance as "a state of activty, ever fighting the good fight of faith, ever foremost to assail unjust power, ever struggling for 'liberty, equality, fraternity'."[31] He conceived it his task to "disarm, in the name of God, every slaveholder and tyrant in the world."[32] He denied "the right of any man over the liberty of another . . . under no pretext has any man the right to dominate

30 Philemon 1-25.

31 F. G. Villard, *William Lloyd Garrison on Non-Resistance* (New York, 1924), p. 30.

32 *Ibid.*, p. 37.

. . . over his fellows."[33] Had the United States government required Garrison to own slaves, the teaching of the New Testament would have justified a humble disobedience to the command. But as it was, the government simply permitted Garrison's fellow citizens to own slaves, if they so desired, and the spirit of nonresistance certainly does not condone a crusade against the government because of this permission. This is precisely what Garrison did, however, in a variety of ways. He tried to persuade England to boycott the southern slaveholders of the United States and buy its cotton from India where labor was free. He publicly burned a copy of the fugitive slave laws; he even burned the United States constitution itself, declaring it a "covenant with death and hell"; and he took part in a state convention called to urge separation from the slave states.[34] Thus Garrison, while opposed to violence, nevertheless engaged in political activity in defiance of established government, in an effort to obtain justice. This is not Biblical nonresistance. It is rather nonviolent resistance, which is not Biblical.

Tolstoy

Tolstoy, the Russian novelist and pacifist of the nineteenth century, was influenced to a large extent by Garrison. He had a rationalistic type of religion which did not think of God as a person, but rather as identified with reason and the supreme good. He did not think of Jesus as the Son of God, but rather as a great man because His teachings coincide with human reason. His religion was entirely man-centered, although he called himself a Christian. He renounced violence because Jesus had given the command not to resist evil, a command which he believed, coincides with reason. Tolstoy believed with Rousseau that man is good, therefore the Sermon on the Mount is for all men, not merely for those who have been regenerated by divine grace. In other words, he identified the kingdom of God with human society after the manner of the social gospel. But since he believed in an absolute renunciation of violence for all men, Tolstoy was an anarchist, repudiating the state altogether, Biblical nonresistance declines to participate in the coercive activities of the state, but nevertheless regards those as necessary for the maintenance of order in a sinful society, and is not anarchistic. But Tolstoy found no place for the state in human society at all;

[33] *Ibid.*, p. 49.

[34] Ernest Crosby, *Garrison the Non-Resistant* (Chicago, 1905), pp. 30-42.

and due to his faith in the goodness of man he believed that eventually all coercion, including the domestic police, would be done away.[35]

Gandhi

The fullest expression of the idea of nonviolence is found in the teachings and practices of Gandhi, the nationalist leader of India. Gandhi was influenced to some extent by Tolstoy. The teachings of Jesus also made a great impression upon him. But the chief source of his philosophy, no doubt, is the idea of sacrificial sufferings as found in the Hindu religion of his native India. The Hindu idea of sacrificial suffering is quite different from that of Christianity. Christianity teaches that Christ suffered a sacrificial death to expiate the guilt of man. It also teaches that Christians out of love for Christ should at all times be obedient to his will, at whatever cost, and be ready to suffer for that faith, if need be. The Hindu idea, however, is that men must undergo self-imposed sacrificial suffering as a means of appeasing the gods. Even the most selfish and tyrannical gods will give men what they desire when they have suffered enough. As Shridharani says: "Even the most whimsical of gods cannot resist the power of suffering. Born of sacrifice, suffering is the human power which produces desired ends and defeats evil"[36]

The special contribution of Gandhi has been to apply this Hindu idea to political relationships and use it as a means of appeasing human tyrants. Gandhi dislikes the British rule in India, so he resorts to fasts and other forms of suffering with the hope that eventually through much suffering the British will be moved to grant independence to India. When Jesus was asked whether it is lawful to pay taxes to the foreign Caesar who ruled over Palestine he said: "Render unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's,"[37] and Paul said: "Ye must needs be subject, not only for wrath, but also for conscience sake. For this cause pay ye tribute also."[38] It must be remembered that both Paul and Jesus here were speaking of a foreign emperor who was not loved by the Jews any more than the British rule is loved by India, yet they say: Be subject, do not revolt, pay taxes. This is nonresistance. But Gandhi takes exactly the opposite

[35] See E. A. Steiner, *Tolstoy the Man* (New York, 1904), and E. H. Crosby, *Tolstoy and His Message* (New York, 1903).

[36] K. Shridharani, *War Without Violence* (New York, 1939), p. 169.

[37] Mt. 22:21.

[38] Rom. 13:5-6.

view. He refuses to pay taxes; he seeks to embarrass the British rulers; he does everything he can to throw off the British rule; he resists in every way he can, except through the use of violence. This is nonviolent resistance.

The nonresistant Christian cannot take part in a political revolution for the overthrow of the government in power. But political revolution is Gandhi's primary objective. Gandhi's program is not one of nonresistance or peace. It is a new form of warfare. The very title of Shridharani's book, *War Without Violence* brings this out most vividly. Shridharani, a disciple of Gandhi and exponent of nonviolence, himself says: "And perhaps to the surprise of my Western readers, Satyagraha[39] seems to have more in common with war than with Western pacifism.[40] He goes on to explain that there are also important differences between Satyagraha and violent warfare. Obviously, bloodshed is absent, at least as long as Satyagraha is kept under control. But this does not do away with the fact that nonviolent resistance is resistance. It is a form of coercion or compulsion. Its purpose is to compel the enemy to give up. Besides fasting and prayers Satyagraha uses such methods as negotiation, arbitration, agitation, demonstration, the ultimatum, the general strike, picketing, the sit-down strike, economic boycott, non-payment of taxes, emigration, non-co-operation, ostracism, civil disobedience, and setting up a new government to take the place of the old.

Most of these techniques have a strange sound to Mennonite ears. True, Mennonites believe in negotiation and arbitration, and they have often resorted to emigration. But in their case emigration has had a different purpose from that of Gandhi. Mennonites have emigrated to find new homes when they were no longer tolerated in the old. But Gandhi uses emigration as a means of embarrassing the government, for if no people are present there will be no people to govern. Mennonites also have disobeyed the government, but if they were true to their faith they did so only when to obey would have been disobedience to God. They disobeyed in order to do right, and perhaps to do justice. But Gandhi disobeys in order to get justice. This is a fundamental difference. Gandhi also resorts to non-co-operation as a means of making the state powerless, or

39 This is the term used by Gandhi and his followers to describe the practice of nonviolence.

40 Shridharani, *op. cit.*

to end the present political system. Nonresistant Christians likewise might find it impossible to co-operate with the state in certain projects which they believe contrary to the will of God, but in this case the motive would be altogether different from that of Gandhi. Its object would not be to destroy the power of the state, and whatever influence it might have in that direction would be altogether incidental to its positive program of obedience to God.

In recent years Gandhi's program of nonviolence has had a rather strong influence in America, so that much of the popular pacifism of today is a mixture of religious liberalism, the social gospel, and Satyagraha. Many pacifist leaders seem to think that Gandhi's program is essentially Christian in its character. A recent newspaper editorial described a conversation with a Protestant minister who declared his belief in the teachings of Christ and his unwillingness "to forego those teachings and accept the code of the killers." Then he cited a list of nationally known ministers with similar views and said: "These men believe, as I do, in nonviolent resistance. They believe in what Gandhi preaches in India."[41] In the mind of this minister the program of Gandhi follows the teachings of Christ. Harry Emerson Fosdick in a recent article, in which he declares his unwillingness to use the church for the promotion of war because to do so would mean disloyalty to Christ, also gives approval to Gandhi and his program of Satyagraha.[42] In 1934 the Christian Youth Council of North America adopted a resolution renouncing war as an instrument of national policy. A smaller group of delegates pledged themselves "not only to refuse to participate in war, but actively to oppose it by means of the general strike, destruction of war materials, and spreading of counter propaganda."[43] This approach is similar to that of Gandhi, unless the destruction of war materials perhaps goes farther than he would go. To the Biblical nonresistant it seems far removed from the spirit of Christ.

Perhaps one reason why Gandhi's program of nonviolence has met with so much favor among religious pacifists is a realization that the social and political changes which they so earnestly desire cannot be brought about without the use of force. And so they turn to the strike and the boycott and other forms of compulsion as less

[41] *The Elkhart Truth*, July 18 or 25, 1942.

[42] H. E. Fosdick, "If America Enters the War, What Shall I do," *The Christian Century* (Dec. 4, 1940-Feb. 4, 1941).

[43] W. W. Van Kirk, *Religion Renounces War*, p. 16.

objectionable than physical violence. At any rate, Shridharani insists that they must do something of this sort, if their ends are to be reached. He speaks of pacifism's

> inadequate understanding of the nature of *social change*. . . . When their (the pacifists') hope of peace is frustrated in the process of social change, as often happens, they are in a dilemma. The demand for social change offers them but one alternative, viz., that of upholding the violent method or of maintaining the *status quo*. . . . There is no other choice left them, for the pacifists fail to realize that something more than good will is required to grease the wheels of a changing order. . . . In other words, force is necessary to insure certain social ends, and in a state or a world state which does not recognize the people's right to decide crucial issues by plebiscite, resource to "direct action" (which can be nonviolent as well as violent), however illegal, becomes not only necessary but incumbent on those who strive to end social injustice.
>
> It is at this point, however, that the pacifists are confronted with the delemma of either going to the camp of the militarist, or of joining the ranks of inactive pious-wishers who by implication become the pillars that sustain the *status quo,* however unjust. And it is also at this crucial point that Gandhi's Satyagraha offers a way out and proves its utility as a nonviolent means to social justice. The distinction between pacifism and Satyagraha on the one hand . . . and war and Satyagraha on the other . . . becomes at this stage at once evident and significant. Hereupon the pacifists stop too soon, and the militarists go too far. . . .[44]

In order to be fair it must be admitted that Shridharani is right when he says that the nonviolent coercionists do not go as far as the militarists do. Certainly the strike and boycott are lesser evils than the shedding of blood with musket, sword, and bomb. On the other hand, as Shridharani also admits, Gandhi and his followers resort to Satyagraha not in an attempt to apply the golden rule, or the Sermon on the Mount, or love, but rather to compel the enemy to comply with their wishes. This is not Christ's way. He said, if a man compel you to go a mile, go two miles, but he never gives Christians the right to compel others. They may appeal to the enemy, and reason with him, but they must not compel him. It is this element of compulsion, which makes it different from Biblical appeal and which makes it a "substitute" for war. But it is also this elemnt of compulsion, which makes it different from Biblical nonresistance. Richard B. Gregg, who has written an authoritative book and a number of pamphlets[45] on this subject, even advo-

[44] Shridharani, *op. cit.*, pp. 270-274.

[45] See R. D. Gregg, *The Power of Non-Violence* (Phila., 1934); *Training for Peace* (Phila., 1937); *A Discipline for Nonviolence.* (Pendle Hill Pamphlet, No. 11).

cates a discipline for nonviolence, borrowed from the military discipline, consisting of folk dancing, rhythm exercises, manual work, joint meditation, and other activities designed to develop morale, courage, and readiness to undergo whatever suffering nonviolent coercion may require.

No one has done better than Reinhold Niebuhr in showing the sharp distinction between nonviolence and New Testament nonresistance. With clarity of analysis he shows that the doctrine of the New Testament is an absolute nonresistance which makes no compromise with the relativities of politics. He shows the futility of trying to make a militarist of Jesus by arguing that he drove the men out of the Temple with whips. But, he says many pacifists engage in an equally futile attempt to water down the nonresistance of Jesus to their own program of nonviolent resistance which permits all kinds of compulsion so long as it does not take life. Niebuhr says:

> There is not the slightest support in Scripture for this doctrine of nonviolence. . . . The *reductio ad absurdum* of this position is achieved in a book which has become something of a textbook for modern pacifists, Richard Gregg's *The Power of Non-Violence*. In this book nonviolent resistance is commended as the best method of defeating your foe, particularly as the test method of breaking his morale. It is suggested that Christ ended his life on the Cross because he had not completely mastered the technique of nonviolence, and just for this reason he is regarded as a guide who is inferior to Gandhi, but whose significance lies in initiating a movement which culminates in Gandhi.[46]

In a final evaluation of Satyagraha as a peace program it should not be forgotten that even Gandhi gave his support to the first World War with the hope that this would serve as a short-cut to home rule for India. Gandhi's own words in a letter to the Viceroy of India with reference to this action follow:

> I recognize that in the hour of its danger we must give, as we have decided to give, ungrudging and unequivocal support to the Empire of which we aspire in the near future to be partners in the same sense as the Dominions overseas. But it is the simple truth that our response is due to the expectation that our goal will be reached all the more speedily. I do not bargain for the fulfillment, but you should know, that disappointment of hope means disillusion.[47]

[46] Reinhold Niebuhr, *Christianity and Power Politics* (New York, 1940); pp. 10-11. The passages referred to are in Gregg, *op. cit.*, pp. 85 and 202.

[47] Shridharani, *op. cit.*, p. 122.

This shows again that the primary objective of nonviolence is not peace, or obedience to the divine will, but rather certain desired social changes. New Testament nonresistance is concerned first with obedience to Christ. Desired social changes are secondary to this, and are striven for only in so far as the methods used do not conflict with the will of Christ. Nonresistance does not use suffering as a method of achieving justice, although it does stand ready to suffer even injustice for the sake of obedience to Christ if there is no other way. Satyagraha, on the other hand, deliberately uses suffering as a method for the achievement of justice as long as this method seems to promise the best results. But, in Gandhi's case at least, when better or quicker results seemed possible by doing so, he rejected the suffering method and actually waged war for the achievement of justice, even though this might cause others to suffer, and even though it was in utter conflict with the teachings of Christ.

THE PORTRAYAL OF THE SWISS ANABAPTISTS IN GOTTFRIED KELLER'S *URSULA*

Elizabeth Horsch Bender

Gottfried Keller, next to Goethe possibly the greatest writer in the German language, is the author of the most widely known and read fictional work on the Anabaptists, a novelle called *Ursula.* Since the skillful writer of fiction has a far larger audience and makes a much more direct appeal to that audience than the professional historian, his work often has much greater power to mold opinion than straight-forward history, and this is true in the case of *Ursula.* By virtue of Keller's reputation and power as a storyteller, *Ursula* has been for over sixty years an authorative source of ideas about the Anabaptists and has etched deeply and permanently a definite conception of the Anabaptist movement in the minds of thousands of readers. Since this portrayal is so unfavorable, it is desirable to determine the validity of the picture by carefully examining the authenticity of the historical material on which it is based, as well as the author's purpose in presenting it.

Emil Ermatinger Keller's biographer, wrote the novelle in part in reaction against the "Strauss affair" in Zürich which had taken place in the third decade of the nineteenth century.[2] David Friedrich Strauss, the liberal theological scholar, had been elected in 1839 to a professorship at the University of Zürich, but was forced out of this position by popular protest before he could actually assume it. Keller, himself a radically liberal thinker in religious matters, felt deeply the blot on Zürich's record, and wrote *Ursula* as a protest against religious narrowness.

Keller did, of course, have a much more general purpose in mind than simply a protest related to this incident of earlier times. This purpose was to reveal the dangers inherent in all religious sectarianism and fanaticism, such as superstition, madness, and immorality, "so dass nicht nur beschränkten und unsauberen Gesellen der Kopf verdreht wird, sondern auch tiefe und reine Geschöpfe wie Ursula

[1] *Gottfried Kellers Werke. Herausgegeben von Max Nussberger. Kritisch-historische und ertäuterte Ausgabe.* Sechster Band, *Züricher Novellen. Ursula* is found on pp 308-378. Leipzig, n. d.

[2] Emil Ermatinger, *Gottfried Kellers Leben, Briefe und Tagebücher,* Vol. I, Stuttgart and Berlin, 1920, p. 561.

auf Strecken den Weg der Ordnung verlieren und nur ein grosses Unglück Heilung bringt."[3] The opening sentence of *Ursula* expresses Keller's basic idea which forms the whole content and spirit of the novelle.

> Wenn die Religionen sich wenden, so ist es, wie wenn Berge sich auftun; zwischen den grossen Zauberschlangen, Golddrachen und Kristallgeistern des menschlichen Gemütes, die ans Licht stegeign, fahren alle hässlichen Tazzelwürmer und das Heer der Ratten und Mäuse hervor. So war es auch zur ersten Reformationszeit in den nordöstlichen Teilen der Schweiz. . . .[4]

Keller says further concerning the basic idea of *Ursula* that Hansli Gyr, the "hero" of the story, is "eine Versinnlichung des Volksgeistes";[5] he is practical, level-headed, never lets himself become confused, and does not fall a victim to emotional religion. Ursula, the Anabaptist girl, represents by contrast the weaker part of the Swiss populace which loses its way in troubled times. The Anabaptists stand for the unsound elements that foster superstition and other forms of irrational conduct and that must be cast off in the development of a national spirit and culture. Over all towers Zwingli, who with sound statesmanship courageously leads the people out of the mazes of ignorance to a high, rational plane. Throughout the story Zwingli's sanity and strength are set off by the weaknesses and excesses of the Anabaptists; the conflict lies between these two diametrically opposed factions. To delineate this central idea sharply, it is almost imperative for Keller to caricature the Anabaptists.

If we ask why Keller chose the Anabaptists to be the vehicle for representing religious fanaticism, the sufficient answer is that Zwingli was Keller's greatest Swiss hero as a representative of the sane, sensible, and stable Swiss national character which Keller glorifies in all his writing, and particularly in the "Züricher Novellen," and that the Anabaptists, the enemies of Zwingli in history, would naturally be the foil of the Zwingli-type for Keller's literary purposes.

Keller very successfully carried out his plan, and while it cannot be expected, of course, that the artist limit himself to historical facts, we must still ask whether Keller's picture of the Anabaptists is authentic and valid, especially since so many of his vast audience accept his portrayal of the early Anabaptists as historically authen-

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 563.
[4] *Ursula*, p. 309.
[5] *Ursula*, p. 356.

tic, and since he himself gives this story the stamp of authenticity in his opening sentence, which was quoted above.

Since the chief action of *Ursula* takes place in the township of Grüningen in the Canton of Zürich, a brief account of the history of this locality in Reformation times will be useful. In 1418, Grüningen, a small territory east of Zürich, lost its independence and became tributary to the city, and since the peasants naturally wanted to regain political as well as economic autonomy, it had since that time been in a state of opposition to Zürich. With the success of the Reformation in Germany, the peasants added religious autonomy to their demands; *e. g.,* the right to choose their own pastor and the abolition of tithes.[6] The peasant unrest finally boiled over, and on April 25, 1525, a mob plundered the monastery of Rüti. No doctrinal issue, however, was involved, nor did the Anabaptists have any connection whatever with the affair.[7]

When the Anabaptist leader, Conrad Grebel, came into the province in June, 1525, with his ideal of a free church composed of believers only, he found the soil very well prepared, and his doctrine became at once the center of a strong popular religious movement. Grebel's success was probably due in some measure to his understanding of the people of the province; he had grown up here during the years when his father was the magistrate (1499-1512). Although he was no doubt in sympathy with the peasants, Grebel did not take any part in the political unrest. After four months the Anabaptist movement had spread to such an extent in Grüningen that the magistrate, Jörg Berger, decided to take measures to suppress it.[8] Accordingly, when he heard that the three leaders, Grebel, Manz, and Blaurock, were to address the crowd at Hinwyl on Sunday, October 8, he hastily rode over and ordered the services to be stopped and the crowd to disperse. Neither the crowd nor the leaders were disposed to yield to this interference with their religious activities, and continued to hold their services in an open field. All three of the leaders were subsequently arrested and imprisoned in the castle at Grüningen.

On November 6, 1525, a disputation between the Zwinglians and

[6] See L. v. Muralt, article, "Grüningen," *Menn. Lex.,* Vol. II, pp. 193-195.

[7] See H. S. Bender's biography of Conrad Grebel to be published by the Mennonite Historical Society, Goshen, Indiana, December, 1943. See also von Muralt's *Glaube und Lehre der schweizerischen Wiedertäufer in der Reformationszeit,* Zürich, 1938; also von Muralt, "Jörg Berger" in *Zwingliana,* Vol. V, p. 107 (1930).

[8] Egli, *Aktensammlung,* Nov. 1525, No. 837, p. 395.

the Swiss Anabaptist leaders was conducted in Zürich, but though it lasted for three days, nothing came of it.[9] The Anabaptists were sentenced for their Anabaptism and "ungebürlicher Praktik" to be imprisoned "bei Muss, Brot and Wasser."[10] After four month's imprisonment, on March 21, 1526, they made their escape by means of a rope and an unguarded drawbridge. In May, 1526, again fifteen Anabaptists were imprisoned, and in December of the same year the policy of execution by drowning was initiated for all who would not recant. From now on the story of the Swiss Brethren in Grüningen as everywhere else was one of extermination, although remnants were found in the Canton of Zürich as late as 1750.

In St. Gall, the adjoining canton to the east of Zürich, the soil had been prepared for the Anabaptist movement by the leaders of the reform movement. Johannes Kessler, who later wrote the *Sabbata,* a diary of events during this period, was the leader of a group in Bible reading in 1524, the members of which called each other "brethren."[11] When the Council forbade this "preaching," Kessler desisted and was succeeded by Wolfgang Ulimann. The meetings were now held in the hall of the weavers to accommodate the crowds who attended.[12] In March Conrad Grebel came to St. Gall to stay for two weeks. His preaching was evidently effective, for on Palm Sunday, April 9, a great crowd was baptized by him.[13] When Grebel left, he put affairs into the hands of Eberli Bolt. The spirit of the St. Gall authorities was much more tolerant than that of Zürich; perhaps partly because Zwingli's influence was less direct, and partly because Vadian (Joachim von Watt), a brother-in-law of Grebel,

9 Bullinger, *Reformationsgeschichte,* Vol. I, pp. 294-298.

10 Egli, *Aktensammlung,* Nov. 1525, No. 864, p. 406. Zwingli was the chief witness against the Swiss Brethren in this trial. He reported having heard that "the Anabaptists of Zürich have three principles: (1) that there should not be any magistracy, (2) that all things should be held in common, and (3) the security of the saints. In his defense Felix Manz, one of the leaders, said he believed that "no Christian could be a magistrate, nor use the sword to kill anyone, for he had no Scripture for such a thing." (On other occasions he said as he no doubt did here too, that the magistracy was necessary for the punishment of evildoers). As to community of goods, he meant merely that a Christian should share with his neighbor when he was in need. Conrad Grebel persisted in his views on baptism. As for the church, he said that "whoever was a gambler, a usurer or any such thing should not be found among Christians, but should be expelled." The verdict is given in Egli, No. 863.

11 Kessler, *Sabbata,* p. 144f.

12 Kessler, *Sabbata,* p. 145.

13 *Fridolin Sichers Chronik,* herausgegeben von Ernst Götzinger, St. Gallen, 1885, p. 190. "Do hub ain hie zu Sant Gallen die sect des widertofs, das eben ganz überhand hat. Lufend aim sontag in das wasser henab, hiess die Sitteren, glich als obs ain process were." (Quoted from H. S. Bender, manuscript cited above).

was a member of the City Council and burgomaster of the city.[14] By April they did, however, begin to take measures of suppression at the insistence of Zwingli,[15] for the movement had become very powerful. Bolt was requested to leave the city, and did so in May.[16]

Since the St. Gall Council had up to this time at least tacitly tolerated the Anabaptist movement, it hardly knew now how to proceed against them. As a first step it finally decided to request both sides to prepare a written defense. Vadian prepared a document against the Swiss Brethren, while Grebel prepared one in their support. The next step was to exile the leaders, impose heavy fines on those who had been baptized, and forbid them to hold any meetings of

[14] Joachim Vadian, *Deutsche Historische Schriften,* St. Gallen, 1875-1879, Vol. II, p. 405, "There were some who were not displeased with all that the Anabaptists undertook to do." Joachim von Watt (1484-1551), called Vadian, became acquainted with Zwingli in Vienna while the former was professor of Latin and Greek at the university. He held the degree of doctor in medicine, was poet laureate of the emperor and rector of the university and was noted as a humanist scholar. Later he became burgomaster of St. Gall and the city's reformer. He was married to Conrad Grebel's sister. His letters are collected in *Die Vadianische Briefsammlung der Stadtbibliothek St. Gallen. Herausgegeben von Emil Arbenz,* in eight volumes of the series *Mitteilungen zur vaterländischen Geschichte. Herausgegeben vom Historischen Verein in St. Gallen,* 1888 ff.

[15] In May, 1525, Zwingli wrote a polemic booklet against the Swiss Brethren, entitled *Vom Tauf, vom Widertauf und vom Kindertauf,* which he dedicated to the burgomaster, councillors, and people of St. Gall. He sent with it a letter, dated May 28, addressed to Vadian, the burgomaster, in which he urges severe repressive measures in the following words: ". . . Warn your council . . . that there cannot be a greater adversity than that of the Anabaptists. . . . Here in our city the tumult of these men has somewhat abated, but it has required so much sweat that it is unbelievable (tantis sudoribus, ut nemo putasset). . . . All previous battles [with the Roman Catholics] were games compared with this. . . . You ought therefore to see to it, that they are zealously opposed. You will find in the dedicatory letter the principal reason why they should be so strenuously resisted. The issue is not baptism, but revolt, faction, heresy. (Seditio est, factio, haeresis, non baptismus.)" *Vadianische Briefsammlung,* Vol. III, 1897, pp. 113-115.

On August 8, 1525, Leo Jud, a Zwinglian leader of Zürich, wrote to Vadian to urge him to greater effort in the suppression of the Anabaptists; he says that it had been much easier to expel Catholicism than the Anabaptists. "Cum his acrior pugna et multo difficillimum bellum est." *Op. cit.,* p. 118 f.

On May 30, 1525, Conrad Grebel wrote to his brother-in-law Vadian in an attempt to save the movement: "For all the favors you have bestowed upon me I am very grateful to you. . . . When, however, I consider . . . your wrestling against my Christian brothers . . . I could wish that I did not owe to you but to another the thanks for all that you have done for me, so that . . . I might be able to say to you . . . what you already know, namely, that . . . the fault is yours, if there shall be passed against them any decree of imprisonment, heavy fine, outlawry, or death.

"Beware . . . of innocent blood. . . . Their patience, and the way they will meet their death . . . will indicate their innocence. . . . If you are not willing to stand with the Brethren, at least do not resist them. . . . If you mislead the council, who lack insight into these things, you cannot deceive God." *Op. cit.,* p. 116 f. (Translated by Edward Yoder).

[16] Bolt was burned at the stake in 1525 in the canton Schwyz, probably because he was a Protestant in a Catholic canton. Bullinger, unaware that he was an Anabaptist, writes that he died "gar beständig, gedultig und dappffer." *Reformationsgeschichte,* Vol. I, p. 289.

their own.[17] The penalty for transgression was to be death. From now on the movement in St. Gall declined rapidly. Those who could do so, fled to Moravia to the Hutterites, others went to other parts of Switzerland, and the rest resumed the Catholic forms of worship, which were not finally and fully abolished until 1528.

This picture of the events in St. Gall, based in part on Kessler's chronicle in the *Sabbata,* but thoroughly authenticated by competent historians,[18] is the story of the original Anabaptists or Swiss Brethren of Zürich, Grüningen, and St. Gall. Keller, of course, did not make use of the findings he might have had access to, but based *Ursula* uncritically on the accounts he had at hand. In *Ursula* Keller presents the following picture:

When Hansli Gyr returns to Zürich and Grüningen from the Italian wars (in 1523) he finds radical changes in the religio-sociological pattern of the life of the people taking place there under the leadership of Zwingli. From an old soldier he learns that his home community has become infected with the very peculiar doctrine and more than peculiar conduct of the Anabaptists. "Geh nur heim auf deinen Berg, der wimmelt, wie ein Hund voll Flöhe, von Schwärmern und Propheten, die in den Wäldern predigen, tanzen und Unzucht treiben, und die Weiber sind toller denn die Männer."[19] He finds to his amazement and consternation that his childhood sweetheart, Ursula, has also become an Anabaptist and wants to become his wife without a marriage ceremony. "Weisst du denn Heiligen und Sündelosen des neuen Glaubens gehören, die keiner weltlichen noch geistlichen Obrigkeit mehr untertan sind? In uns ist der Geist Gottes, wir sind sein Leib und wir tun nichts, als allein seinen Willen!" Hansli takes Ursula to her home and finds her father, Enoch Schnurrenberger, engaged with other Anabaptists in an irrational half insane conversation about the Bible, a peculiar panthesistic God, and the authority of the government. These Anabaptists are indeed remarkable specimens of humanity: Enoch, who is always doing "etwas Schnurriges"; Schneck, whose facial features are a subhuman caricature and of whom it is said that he

17 Kessler, *Sabbata,* p. 148. "Demnach . . . die Christenliche gmaind, zu Sant Laurenzen . . . teglich abnam und den widertoufer zufiel;—wolten nit mer an der predicanten predig komen, sunder den widertoufer . . . nachlofen. Vermaint unser oberkait dem selbigen fürzekommen und gebot: welte ie einer predigen, . . . sölle der selbige . . . in der kirchen in der statt predigen . . . vor den vier verordneten schidlüten . . . umb seiner ler rechnung ze geben."

18 Emil Egli, *Die St. Galler Taufer,* Zürich, 1887.

19 *Ursula,* p. 313.

used to cut his shoes to reveal toes as ring-laden as his hands are now; Rosenstil, who affects a composure of soul Gelassenheit because he is lethargic and lazy; and the "cold" innkeeper Wirtz, "cold" because his hands are always clammy. They are bored and out of sorts, and therefore they welcome the diversion created by Hansli's entrance, and stare at him with clairvoyant eyes. They seem to enjoy trying to shock Hansli with their senseless, sacrilegious comments. Then, having exhausted their energy, the Schnurrenberger company spend the night solemnly absorbed in their cards; Hansli, however, goes home.

In the second chapter we find Enoch selfishly trying to buy Hansli's property at a very low price, on the pretext that in the millennium, which is imminent, all property will become common. Hansli wisely refuses the offer and leaves for Zurich to settle his affairs. He goes first to the Schnurrenberger home to leave his key, gives Ursula a ring, and leaves with a heavy heart. The farther he gets from this center of Anabaptism, the better the air becomes; and he notices, moreover, that the people seem to be more inspired than formerly, because of Zwingli's work and influence.

In Zürich there is some confusion and difference of opinion concerning the changes introduced by the Council. There in an inn Hansli hears the old order upheld by a disguised monk, and an extremely new order (the millennial order) by Wirtz, as seen by the latter's limited, carnal mind. Zwingli enters to drink a comradely glass with the soldiers, causing the two enemies—the monk and Wirtz—to be crowded against each other. Even Zwingli is amused by their discomfiture. Hansli enthusiastically accepts Zwingli's sane, progressive ideas and becomes his follower. Religion is freed from the "Dunste des Priesterheidentums";[20] reformers and people proceed with unity of spirit.

The third chapter opens with an account of the sale of the treasures from the cathedral. Then follows a scene showing Ursula caring for the hay in Hansli's meadow, trying to get it out of harm's way, for the Anabaptists are to hold a meeting there. The first of these to arrive are Schneck and Rosenstil, who in succession try to lure Ursula into an immediate "Anabaptist" marriage with them. Ursula defends herself successfully with her hayfork, and they hide in the woods to repair damages while the crowd assembles. But

[20] *Ibid.*, p. 337.

before they are properly convened, the magistrate Berger innocently passes by, preceded by Hansli whom Enoch mistakes for an armed guard. Enoch raises the cry, "Fort, fort! Der Landvogt von Grüningen ist auf dem Weg mit Spiess und Schwert!" and the people scatter in terror and disappear in the woods like hunted animals. Keller's picture, produced by this juxtaposition of lust, religion, and craven cowardice, is of telling effect.

When Hansli finally finds an opportunity to speak with Ursula, he learns that her reason has been shattered by the conflict between her love for him and loyalty for her father. Again he takes her home, and finds that the Anabaptist movement has spread in the community, but has been taken out of the hands of the "alley prophets" by the more or less educated leaders. In all this Enoch keeps his eye open for any advantage to himself and takes on new fanaticism. A favorite though difficult trick of his is "dying";[21] that is, throwing himself on the floor in convulsions.

The Anabaptist movement, Keller reports, is finally brought under control by the Zürich Council by means of a public disputation and appropriate penalties, and ultimately destroyed by persecution, exile, or the loss of life and liberty. On one occasion about twenty persons including Enoch and his family are arrested for baptizing in a forest, and are imprisoned in the "Ketzerturm," to be slowly starved into submission. Their conduct here is reprehensible; they make a hideous noise with their mingling of singing, shouts of fear, penitence, and cursing. The first night Hansli succeeds with no great difficulty in releasing Ursula, whereupon all the others follow to safety and spread the story that an angel has rescued them. Finally, the conduct of the Anabaptists becomes so disgusting in its lawlessness, that Hansli gives up all hope of winning Ursula and leaves home.

The fourth chapter of the story gives an account of the War of Cappell, in which Zwingli loses his life and Hansli becomes an honored officer among the Reformed troops. No mention is made of Anabaptists in this section.

In the fifth and last chapter we find the Anabaptists subdued but utterly idiotic in their conduct. Keller describes them in an attempt to be as little children, for "wer sich erniedrigt, wie dies Kind, der ist der Grösseste im Himmelreich."[22] All the prophets, Schnurren-

21 See footnote 30 below.

22 Matthew 18:4. Quoted in *Ursula,* p. 367.

berger, Schneck, Wirtz, and Rosenstil, creep about the floor in the most absurd antics. One has put on an old red gown to dress like a child, and loads chaff on a child's wagon while babbling like a baby. Another sucks a pacifier, a third tries to get his toe into his mouth but fails because of avoirdupois, a fourth rides the stove like a horse. The elderly women play with dolls or drag pine cones about the floor. Exhausted from this strenuous effort to be childlike by being worse than childish, they put their heads together solemnly over their cards for relaxation. They are interrupted by a warning of military disaster, but can only stare stupidly out into the night. The shock returns Ursula to her senses, and she goes to the battle scene in search of Hansli, where she finds him and saves his life. Hansli and Ursula become honorable and responsible citizens, are married and establish their home on the Gyrenhof. As for the Anabaptists, "Immer trieben sie etwas Schnurriges, obleich sie nicht mehr predigten. Ihre Art spukt indes ab und zu immer noch um jenen Berg herum."[23]

Keller's Anabaptists, a sorry group, are well calculated to make the reader turn with relief to the sturdy Zwinglian peasant so well typified by Hansli; although it should be noted that the virtues of Hansli are not particularly religious virtues and that there actually is no direct religious issue in the entire presentation of *Ursula.*

In view of the clear cut and seemingly authoritative representation which Keller gives, it is essential to secure the answer to two questions: (1) Where did Keller get his Anabaptist material? and (2) Is the characterization of the Anabaptists in this material valid?

The first question can be quickly answered. According to Ermatinger, Keller secured his material from Schuler's *Taten und Sitten der Eidgenossen.*[24] Ermatinger states further that the Anabaptist material in Schuler is taken from Johannes Kessler's *Sabbata,* a contemporary Reformation diary. Schuler is not accessible, except in a few short questions given in Ermatinger and in Nussberger. A comparison of these with the original in Kessler shows that the facts given by Schuler apparently agree with those in Kessler's *Sabbata,* but that the sense of pity, so evident in Kessler, is lacking in Schuler.

As to the validity of Keller's sources, it is difficult now to ascertain

[23] *Ursula,* p. 378.

[24] Johann Melchior Schuler, *Taten und Sitten der Eidgenossen,* Vol. II, 1838, a history of the Swiss Confederacy, contains the Anabaptist material from which Keller drew his *Ursula.*

exactly what the facts really were, for in that age name-calling was common practice. For instance, in 1524 it was reported that even the Bible classes led by Kessler (who was not an Anabaptist) were held for immoral purposes,[25] which Kessler denied, and which nobody believes today. If we examine Kessler's[26] and Bullinger's[27] accounts of the St. Gall "disorders," we find that the authors do not claim to have first-hand reports, nor do they state their sources.[28] In the official records of St. Gall and the adjoining canton of Appenzell there is no mention at all of these charges, with the exception of one instance in the *Malefizbuch* of St. Gall,[29] where the punishment of a woman is recorded as penalty for "dying."[30]

The best conclusion seems to be that there was a reaction among the less stable elements of the population when they were suddenly compelled to accept Zwingli's belief in absolute predestination in place of their former belief that the individual was responsible for his own conduct. Add to this the fact that the required forms of worship were still Catholic,[31] in spite of the fact that Zwingli preached that the Catholic mass was an "abomination," and one can partly understand the confusion of these apostate Anabaptists.

Kessler makes it clear that there were no genuine Anabaptists left in St. Gall at the time of these disorders.[32] The apostate Anabaptists, who are guilty of them, he now calls "Wiedergetaufte" instead of "Wiedertäufer."[33] These aberrations evidently represent nothing more than the "lunatic fringe" of the crushed and dying Anabaptist movement at St. Gall—and only at St. Gall—not the original movement at Zürich, Grüningen, or anywhere else.

25 Kessler, *Sabbata,* p. 11.

26 Kessler, *Sabbata,* pp. 141-164.

27 Bullinger, *Von dem unverschampten fräfel,* fol. 2b.

28 Article, "An Inquiry into the Truth of Charges Against the Swiss Brethren," by John Horsch, *Mennonite Quarterly Review,* Vol. VIII, p. 18.

29 *Malefizbuch* 1525, 9. April. Quoted in Emil Egli, *St. Galler Täufer,* Zürich, 1887.

30 Kessler, *Sabbata,* p. 158: "Wo sy by anandren versamlet warend, so fielend etliche gechling zu rugg nider uf die erd oder an wand, . . . verstaltend ir ganz angesicht mit on underlassnem sünfzen und zackendem herzen; glich als ob einer welte von herzen wainen und doch nit dorste und also die sünfzen und hitzung hinter sich zuche. Diss geschach alles mit grosser mui und arbait und fliessendem schwais, das einer möchte by inen verzagt sin. . . . Solliche seltzame würkung oder krankhait nannten sy sterben. . . . Demnach sy widerumb zu inen selber komend, fiengend sy an reden von himelschen hochen dingen."

31 Mass was abolished in 1528. Kessler, *Sabbata,* p. 247.

32 *Ibid.,* p. 248. The government required the use of baptismal records (April, 1527), "damit der widertauf nit übernacht widerumb inbreche."

33 *Ibid.,* p. 151.

Instead of examining the details of Kessler's *Sabbata* account with the purpose of tracing Keller's material to its ultimate sources, it will be more profitable to present evidence from unimpeachable sources which refutes this material as historically inapplicable to evangelical Anabaptism.

There are many voices that speak of the uprightness of life of the original Swiss Anabaptists. Zwingli, their mortal enemy, while claiming that they were hypocrites and rotten at heart, in the same sentence admits: "If you investigate their life and conduct, it seems at first contact irreproachable, pious, unassuming, yea, supermundane."[34] Bullinger, Zwingli's successor, who agrees that they were hypocrites, writes, "They speak earnestly against all vain display, against intemperance in eating, and drinking, and against all profanity and vice."[35] Kessler, who divides the population into "Papists, Christians, and Anabaptists," says that their life and conversation was distinguished for its piety.[36] Let these three men, who are frequently mentioned in this paper, all of whom were opponents of the Anabaptists, be evidence for the contention that the Enoch Schnurrenberger and Schneck depicted in lurid colors by Keller in *Ursula* could not have been representative Anabaptists.

On the whole, the Schnurrenberger theology was very similar to that of the ex-Anabaptists of St. Gall and Appenzell (after the original movement had been suppressed) as described by Kessler,[37] but in an exaggerated and ridiculous form. When Wirtz expounds

[34] *Huldreich Zwinglis Sämmtliche Werke,* Edited by Egli, Finsler, Köhler, et al., Vol. III, (1914) p. 378: "Vitam quoque si censeas primo obtutu, innocens adparet, divina, popularis, imo ultramundana."

[35] Bullinger, *Der Widertoufferen Ursprung, Fürgang, Wäsen, Secten,* Zürich, 1560, fol. 10 a.

[36] Kessler, *Sabbata,* p. 147, "Darbei glanzet ir wandel und geberd ganz from hailig und unstrofbar." Kessler was one of the few of the time who felt pity instead of hatred toward the Anabaptists, as the following quotation shows: "Ach, was soll ich von disem volke sagen! Sy erbarment mich von herzen, dann iren vil yferend nach Gott, aber mit Unverstand. Ich hör ungern, das sy also ellend und zu vil gwaltigklich umbbracht und getödt werden. Desglichen, so die so fradig und tapfer sterben umb den nammen Jesu, so mit etwas irthumb befleckt." (*Sabbata,* p. 284).

[37] *Ibid.,* p. 153. "Dieweil nun die widertouften sich gaistlicher bedunkten, dann alle menschen sin uf erden, wurfend etlich ire Testamentbücher in die öfen, verbrandtend und zerrissend die, sprächend: der buchstab tödt der gaist macht lebend, und Gott spricht durch den propheten: ich will min gsatz in ire herzen schriben. Hierumb was sy redtend, was sie handletend, so einer darumb grund und ursach uss der gschrift erforschet, lachtend sy und schruwend: Wee, wee, üch gschriftglerten! zeigtend dann uf ir herz mit dem finger: hie, hie. Demnach wie sy och vernommen, der mensch habe (wie war ist) kainen frijen willen, sunder Gott würk alles in allen: hie fieland sie in die vermessenhait woltend nichts mer thun noch lon, sunder satzend sich nider und hieltend sich wie harte stöck, vermeintend, wölte Gott etwas durch sy vollbringen; so werd es geschechen.

his ideas of the Bible with phrases like this: "Was ist die Schrift? Eine leere Haut, wenn ich nicht den heiligen Geist hineinblase! Eine tote Katze, wenn ich sie nicht mit dem Odem Gottes auf die Beine jage!"[38] he expresses the exact opposite of Swiss Brethren doctrine, which was absolutely biblicist. A polaric God, such as he describes with "Wie könnte Er bestehen, wenn wir Ihm nicht Wohnung gäben?"[39] or a pantheistic or animistic one, as expounded in the offensive scene with the apple which Schneck makes into a God, was as far from the thought of the early Brethren as from that of Zwingli; the idea is too ridiculous to merit refutation. By having Hansli leave in disgust while the Anabaptists spend the night at cards (also historically impossible), Keller cleverly heightens the contrast between them.

There is no evidence whatever to support the contention that Ursula's conception of marriage "without benefit of clergy" was an Anabaptist idea. On the contrary, there is good evidence to show that the Anabaptists were responsible for the introduction of the marriage ceremony before the consummation of the marriage instead of afterwards, as had been the custom.[40] Nor is there evidence that the Anabaptists professed sinlessness as Keller has Ursula say in the following words: "Weiszt du denn noch nicht, dass wir hier zu den Heiligen und Sündelosen des neuen Glaubens gehören, die keiner weltlichen noch geistlichen Obrigkeit mehr untertan sind?"[41]

[38] *Ursula,* p. 321.

[39] *Ursula,* p. 324.

[40] Cornelius Bergmann, *Die Täuferbewegung im Kanton Zürich bis 1660,* in the series *Quellen und Abhandlungen zur schweizerischen Reformationsgeschichte, herausgegeben vom Zwingliverein in Zürich,* Leipzig, 1916, p. 27 f.

"In der Zeit der Reformation wurde die Eheschlieszung mit dem Verlöbnis vollzogen. Dieses besass zwar gesetzliche Kraft, doch wurde es nicht so streng genommen. Die Wiedertäufer führten die Einsegnung der Ehe ein. . . . Selbst Zwingli und Bullinger scheinen von der Auffassung ihrer Zeit erst allmählich abgewichen zu sein." (Bergmann cites *Real-Enzyklopädie fur protest. Theol.,* Bd. 3, Art. "Bullinger," von Emil Egli.)

"Bis zur Reformation und auch nach derselben war die Ehe durch Zusammenleben rechtsgültig. Gewöhnlich folgte eine kirchliche Einsegnung. Nach dem Mandat von 1530, welches viele nichteingesegnete voraussetzte, sollte die Ehe nachträglich eingesegnet und von dem Pfarrer ausgerufen werden. 'Sunst sol der pfarrer zuosampt der gemeind disen kilchgang on vorganden rueff zuolassen und die vereelichen by einander wonen lassen nit schuldig sin.' Der Kirchgang war aber stets eine Bestätigung schon vollzogener Ehegemeinschaft." (Bergmann cites J. Bluntschli, *Staats und Rechtsgeschichte der Stadt und Landschaft Zürich, III,* 21, 433 ff.

See also Ernst Correll, article "Ehe," *Menn. Lex.,* Vol. I, pp. 509-526.

One of the achievements of the "Sittenmandat" of 1530 was that it "den letzten Vorwurf der Wiedertäufer beseitigte, indem es der Unzucht und der Zügellosigkeit der Sitten auf dem Lande ein Ziel setzte." Bergmann, *op. cit.,* p. 24.

[41] *Ursula,* p. 316 f.

There are many statements of the Brethren to the effect that they did not consider themselves sinless; and the very fact that they so strictly exercised the ban and then received members back into their number upon a pledge of good behavior would prove that they recognized the possibility of sinning. The charge of insubordination to government was made against the Brethren repeatedly, and as often refuted by themselves. Again and again they explained their doctrine, that church and state operate on different levels. In religious matters "it is better to obey God than man." In secular affairs, as Grebel said: "Wolle sunst minen herren ghorsam sin inn allen anderen weltlichen dingenn."[42] He never taught "dass man der oberkeit nit ghorsam sin sollte."[43]

The incident of Jörg Berger and the Anabaptists at Grüningen has been discussed in the historical sketch of Grüningen. Here Keller has two distinct imprisonings confused. The Brethren did escape from the first, after some months in the tower (not in the first night), but not from the second. The idiotic noise made by the Brethren while in prison is sheer invention by Keller and merely one more piece of disreputable conduct with which to build up his picture.

The disputations are an interesting subject in themselves, but will have to be passed over very briefly. The first of the "Täufergespräche" was held in January, 1525, when the question of infant baptism was discussed. As in all the disputations, the debate was in the hands of the state, and its purpose was to convince the dissenting party of the error of its ways. Thus in this first disputation, Bullinger says naively that the Brethren "would say only what they desired to say and not what they should say"[44] The second disputation, in November, 1525, was held in the Zürich cathedral, for the city hall was too small to hold the crowd. The decision, as always, went against the Brethren, and the baptism of an adult became a capital crime thereafter.

Keller unconsciously suggests his own method of attack on the Anabaptists in his remark concerning the statements made by the soldiers and common people (not the Anabaptists this time) about Zwingli and the Council: "Verwundert hörte er [Hansli] die über

[42] H. S. Bender, in manuscript thesis on Conrad Grebel cited above.

[43] Egli, *Aktensammlung,* No. 933, pp. 442 ff.

[44] *Von dem unverschampten fräfel,* fol. 117 b, "Also gebend alle Widertouffer für, man verschlahe jnen die warheit im halss und überfalle man sy mit gschwyndigkeit, das aber nit ist . . . dann sig habend gwonet ze reden nun was sy wöllend und nit was sy söllend."

die Zürcher [the Council] schon im Gange gehenden Spottnamen und Scheltworte, wie sie in solchen Zeiten immer die ersten Waffen der unwilligen Beschränktheit gegen die Neuerer bilden."[45] The very names he has chosen for the Schnurrenberger group are symbols of his intent to caricature rather than to do justice. The epithets "Winkelseher" and "Winkelpropheten" are (as far as I have been able to find) sheer invention on the part of Keller. It is true that Zwingli called them "Winkelprediger" after 1525 when he had driven them into a "corner" with the sword, but not "Winkelseher" or "Winkelpropheten" Keller's frequent allusion to their belief in a very materialistic "millennium" is likewise without foundation; not even Bullinger makes that charge against them.

In this story Keller has made the Anabaptists the "irregular" element, which he subjects to ridicule to furnish a humorous contrast to the "regular" element. To do this he has uncritically followed a suggestion in an expression he happened upon in Berlin, "Die Kindernarren," with a quotation from Schuler. He puts the entire Anabaptist movement into 1523 (an anachronism, since it did not begin until January, 1525), takes only the aberrations that occurred after 1525 as the basis for his picture and unhistorically transplants them from St. Gall to Zürich and Grüningen. Only the account of the idiotic childishness[46] is placed by Keller in 1531, which is several years too late. He is unaware of the fact that the movement which originated in Zürich has continued to the present day,—not, to be sure, in Grüningen, but at Langnau in the valley of the Emme River in the Bernese Oberland, where a congregation has been maintained continuously from Reformation times, as well as in Basel and in the Bernese Jura.

In conclusion it should be pointed out that in striking at Anabaptism, Keller was actually striking much deeper, at Christianity as such. In the spirit of Feuerbach with his atheistic humanism, Keller

[45] *Ursula*, p. 311 f.

[46] Kessler, *Sabbata*, p. 152. "In dem kam ainer, den sy (the ex-Anabaptists of St. Gall) nanntend den Goldschmid. Der hielt inen, den widertouften (note that he does not call this group Wiedertäufer) für, hin und her in den dörfer und besunder in Abbacellar landtschaft, den Spruch Christi: es sije dann, ir werdend wie die kinder, besitzend ir nit das rich der himel; verstünd den spruch nit onglich wie Nicodemus die widerburt, von liblicher kindtschaft; ermanet sy on underlass, wo sy versammlet warend, sy sollent sich kindesch stellen und berden. Uf sollichs hübend an, fürnemlich wibsbilder, namend an sich allerlai kindesche geberden, sprungend uf, tetschtend die händ zusamen, . . . zuchend dannzapfen an der erden an ainem faden etc. Und wie iede sich mocht nach liblichen, torrichtigen geberden den kindern am glichformigsten stellen, ie neher sy vermaint dem Spruch Christi nachleben."

sought to free the essentially human from its religious handicap. Otto Schowalter's comment is to the point. "Das Täufertum ging vorüber und musste vorübergehen, als Durchgangsstufe einer jeden menschlichen Entwicklung zu seinem wahren Wesen. Mit dieser Beurteilung des Täufertums ist die gesamte christliche Religion gemeint. Dahinter steht der atheistische Humanismus Feuerbachs. Es handelt sich um das Herausschälen des wesentlichen Menschen aus den Irrgängen der Religion."[47]

[47] Otto Schowalter, Article, "Mennoniten in der deutschen Literatur," *Menn. Lex.*, Vol. II, p. 664.

DOCUMENTS

A SONG OF THE PERSECUTION OF THE HUTTERITES IN VELKE LEVARY

Ein drauriges Lied von einer vervulckhung.

A. J. F. Zieglschmid.

I. Introduction.

The song under this title describes the religious persecution of the Hutterian Brethren in Velke Levary,[1] Slovakia, in 1725, to which John Horsch refers in the following words: "A persecution arose in 1725 in which fifteen [sechzechen = sechzehn according to stanza 23 of our song] members of the church in Levar were seized and imprisoned for refusing to consent to have their infants baptized by a priest. The brotherhood at this place finally yielded this point in the same year."[2]

The complete non-normalized version of the text of the song is presented here for the first time. Josef Beck published only thirty stanzas of the existing eighty,[3] omitting for some unknown reason also stanza 39 in which the author of the song laments the fact that the Hutterites at Velke Levary consented to attend the Catholic Church and have their children instructed in the Catholic faith.

The author of the song, according to Beck,[4] is believed to be an otherwise unknown Hutterian brother by the name of A(ndreas) C(illich).[5] Beck copied the song from Cod. R,[6] also known as Cod. Dreller III, which was written at Sobotiste in 1647. Since the song, by necessity, must have been written in or after 1725, Beck fails to indicate that the song obviously appears in a handwriting other than that of Dreller at the end of the codex. He likewise fails to inform us about the approximate date of composition by Cillich.

The present version is taken from another Cod. Dreller which, according to fol. 62r, was "Beschriben [geschrieben] durch Isaac dreller Buech

1 Velke Levary (in German, Großschützen; in the present song, *schitzen*), about 44 km. north of Bratislava, is situated between the western slopes of the Little Carpathian Mountains and the river March (Morava) in modern Slovakia, formerly Hungary; cf. Hege-Neff, *Mennonitisches Lexikon* II, 644-645 (1936), article *Lewär* by Dr. P. Dedic.

2 In his book *The Hutterian Brethren* (Mennonite Historical Society, Goshen College, Goshen, Indiana, 1931), p. 75. John Horsch seems to be the only church historian who refers to this persecution at all.

3 In his volume *Die Geschichtsbücher der Wiedertäufer in Österreich-Ungarn* (Akademie der Wissenschaften: "Fontes Rerum Austriacarum, 2. Abteilung: Diplomataria et Acta," Vol. XLIII, Wien, 1883), pp. 566-569. The edition of *Die Lieder der Hutterischen Brüder* (Mennonite Publishing House, Scottdale, Penna., 1914), pp. 879-885, contains the complete but modernized version of the song. A comparison between the present non-normalized version and the modernized version will easily demonstrate the textual variations.

4 Beck, *op. cit.*, p. 566.

5 Cf. Hege-Neff, *op. cit.*, I,356 (1918), article "Cillich" by Chr. Neff.

6 Beck, *op. cit.*, p. XXVIII, Nr. 17: "Cod. R. vom Jahre 1647, genannt Cod. Dreller III., sub Sign. G. J. X.5 in der Graner Primat.-Bibliothek; eine Handschrift in 4., Lederband, 193 Blatt. . . Isaac Dreller, Buchbinder, hat den Cod. a. 1647 zu Sabatisch (i. e., Sobotiste) geschrieben."

Binder im. D. MC LIII. Jar:", i. e., *im M. DC LIII. Jar.*[7] Dreller finished writing the codex in 1654, for the *Register,* beginning with fol. 17Sr, which was "geschriben im MDC. LIIII. Jar." This codex now is in the possession of the Rev. Michael Waldner, Hutterische Church, Bonhomme Colony, Tabor, S. D.

The text of the song is written in the hand of Andres Kuhen and shows all the linguistic peculiarities characteristic of his writing. His name is established by his personal entry for the year 1708 (cf. the second half of footnote 7): "im 1708 hab Ich Andres Kuhen den siebenden hornung mein Kattrine schultzin zur egenomen", i. e., zur Eh(e) genommen.—Andres Kuhen apparently copied the text in or after the year 1734, for the text follows his last personal entry for that year: "1734 den ist Meine liebe Kattrine [schultzin] Im hern endschlaffen den 30 november frue wÿ der dag anbrochen ist an dag andreaß . . . ."

Although only little is known of Andreas Kuhn (cf. his father's personal entry for the year 1691: "Im 1691 den 10 Augustj hatt mier mein rachel einen sohn geboren mit Namen Andreaß Kuhen Im freitag In Zeichen fisch."), we are able to determine his South Bavarian, probably Tyrolese, descent on the basis of the determination of his dialect. His orthography and choice of certain telltale words in his personal entries (cf. the second half of footnote 7) as well as in his version of the song point to the South Bavarian speech territory. Since it is not deemed expedient to present a complete study of a dialect determination in the present publication the linguistic material is relegated to a footnote.[8]

[7] The same date, 1653, is found at the bottom of fol. 52v of this codex. The codex, 18.3 cm x 14.8 cm, comprises 177 fols. of text. The *Register,* following the text, comprises 8 fols. and contains entries only for the letters C, D, H, K, L, M, N. The *Register* is followed by 1¾ pages inscribed by *Hainrich kuhen* (dates of wedding, births deaths: 1687-1722), 2¼ pages inscribed by his son *Andres Kuhen* (dates of wedding, births, deaths: 1708-1734). These personal entries are followed by the text of the present song (comprising 5 fols.) in the hand of *Andres Kuhen.*

[8] The following criteria in their totality leave no doubt that the dialect of the song is Bavarian (The abbreviation *W,* i. e., *W§18,* refers to Karl Weinhold, *Bairische Grammatik,* Berlin, 1867; a plain numeral, e.g., (*67*) refers to the particular stanza of the poem thus indicated):

1. Such lexicographical data as: *derlangen* (77) = erlangen; *zum Vattern* (dat. sgl.; 6); nit(t) (2) = nicht (W§11, p. 24); *sell* (30; 60) = selb; *blaßl* (59; diminutive ending *-l*: W§243, p. 244; *ß* substitutes for *tz*) = Platzl; *er wellē* (50; 54) = er wolle; *daranÿ* (55) = daran(e); *onnj* (55) = ohne; *schehnÿ* (67) = schöne (W§20, p. 35); *mier* (2; 23 additional occurrences), *mir* (8; 6 additional occurrences, i. e., a total of 31 occurrences of *mier* and *mir!*) = wir (which form does not occur once in the entire song!) (W§139, p. 144); *zun vns* (20; 63) = zu uns (W§168, p. 174); *mußÿ* (44) = Musik (W§174, p. 181); *wer ich* (45) = werde ich (W§18, p. 33); *mier wern sein* (75) = wir werden sein; *er werd, werdt, wert, wertt* (10 occurrences, but only one er wirdt in a biblical quotation!) = er wird (W§18, p. 33); *mier* (66), *ier* (67) = wir, ihr (unetymological dipthongization; W§90, pp. 93, 94); lere(r) (48), schabanschere(r) (65; butscherer (14); -scher = scher'r = scherer [28]: omission of final -r: W§162, p. 168);
2. MHG *ei* appears mainly as *ai*: rain (1), gemain (1), verhaißen (6), raißen (25) = reisen, haim (37), kain (37), etc.;
3. *-ckh* instead of NHG *-k*: merckht (3), folckh (41), werckh (54), Denckhen (55), etc.;
4. *g* instead of NHG (*c*)*k* (W§173, p. 177): schiegen (8) = schicken; geschigt (16), herschigt (8); erschrugen (52) = erschrocken; agersman (78);

With reference to the method employed in the transcription of the present text, the reader is directed to the Introduction of my study of "Unpublished Sixteenth-Century Letters of the Hutterian Brethren"[9] where my methodological procedure is described in detail. It may be mentioned here, however, that the present writer could not always determine with certainty whether or not Andreas Kuhn's initial letters *a-, d-, n-, b-* were to be read as majuscules or minuscules. — Since Kuhn's virgules are very small they often appear as periods in his writing. In this case, they likewise appear as periods in the present transcription. — The usual abbreviations

5. unrounded vowels and diphthongs: schitzen (1) = [Groß]schützen, Triebsall (1), brieder (2), getrestet (2), but getröstedt (46); ein leichter (7) = ein Leuchter, abfiren (14), etc.;
6. *w* instead of NHG *b* (W§136): strewen (6) = streben; ewen (3; 14 additional occurrences, but only 3 of *eben!*) schawanscher('r) (28), but schaübenscherer (14), schabanscherer (65); Jeßawell (29) = Isabel; Nawudt (30) = Nabot; Nawutz (3) = Nabots, genitive of Nabot (W§136);
7. *u* instead of NHG *o* (W§28, p. 43): vervulckhung (title); Thun (title) = Ton = Melodie; schuhn (2), but schohn (6); nuch (2); gutt (3) = Gott, but gott (8) gruß (4); tudt (5); kumbt (6); huch (6), but hoch (7); bersun (12) = Person, etc.;
8. *o* instead of NHG *u* (W§21, p. 37): dorch (6) = durch; moren (8) = murren; ongedolttig (8); non (9); or (21) = Uhr; stonndt (26) = Stunde; herom (52); daromb (55); bondt (67) = Bund, etc.;
9. *d* instead of NHG *t* (W§145); drauriges (title); duett (2) = tut; driebsall (7); wolde (10); eldesten (11); edliche (16); dag (24); endgegen (25); dott (30) =dutt (55) = tot, etc.; — berichted (27): hered (32) = höret; nemeds (41) = nehmet es; Ir werdend (76);
10. *b* instead of NHG *p* (W§121, p. 124; W§124, p. 127): bersun (12) = Person; brueder bulman (48) = Jacob Pullman (21); blagt (52); blatz (58); blaßl (59) = Platzl; brabiert (75) = probiert, etc.;
11. *p* instead of NHG *b* (W§122, p. 124): Prieff (30) = der Brief;
12. unetymological diphthongization: nuer (54) = nur; mier (2) = wir (W§90); ier (75) = ihr;
13. *ä* instead of NHG *äu*: gesämbt (38) = gesaimt = gesäumt;
14. the indefinite diphthongal glide between consonants is expressed by *e* (W§17, p. 32) or by *i* (W§20, p. 36): hibesches (61) = hüsches; solhiche (70) = solche;
15. *ß* instead of NHG *sch* (W§154, p. 159): bißuff (26) = Bischof;
16. *g* instead of NHG *h* (W§177, p. 184): ziegen (50) = ziehen; zigen (56) = ziehen;
17. *a* instead of NHG *o* (W§6, p. 19): nadt (32) = die Not;
18. *e* instead of *o* in *vor-*: verüber (49) = vorüber;
19. *ch* instead of NHG h (W§183, p. 188; W§187, p. 191): Jachaneß (35) = Johannes; verzeichen (79) = verzeihen; — korach (44) = Korah;
20. *t(t)* instead of NHG *d* (W§140, p. 144): leitten (4) = leiden; brietter (7) = Brüder; kintter (17); melten (21); hentten (23) = den Händen; balte (28); witter (37) = wieder; tran (59) but dran (64); getenckhen (64);
21. *m* changes to *n* in the dative singular masc. and neut. of the pronominal declension: Irn (31) = ihrem; vnßeren (59) = unserem (dat. sgl. masc.);
22. the original dative ihm (eam) is used in place of the proper accusative ihn (W§360, p. 371; W§139): ihm (11; 22) = ihn, etc.

The following linguistic features, among others, point to South Bavarian:

1. The use of the verb form *thien* (67) = tüen = tuen (W§89, p. 92; W§300, p. 302; W§301, p. 303);
2. the unetymological vowel modification, i. e., umlaut (W§117, p. 114): müt (1) = mit (W§33); nütt (13) = nit = nicht; fleüß (3) = Fleiß (W§87); Warhaütt (5); zeütte (8) = Zeit(e); haüst (14), but heist (21); kaüßer- (26) = Kaiser-, etc.

[9] In *The Mennonite Quarterly Review*, Vol. XV, Nos. 1 and 2, January and April, 1941.

ss. m_1, which occurs in the footnotes only, signifies *supra scriptum manu prima*—"in the hand of the writer (i. e., of the copyist = Andreas Kuhn) of the song."

II. The Text.

Ein drauriges Lied von einer ver(-)vulckhung[10] *In Thun*[11]

1. Mein geist Lasts mich nitt ruen. gwiszli(c)h zu aller stundt / ein neues Liedt zu singen / müt hertzen vnd mit Mundt / wie es iezs ist er gange[n][12]/ zu schitzen[13] Inn der gemain. Triebsall hadt an gefangen / wol vmb des glaubens rain / [14]

2. Duett darumb nitt ver Zagen / Ir Liebsten brieder mein. ob sie vnß schuhn ver fulckhen. sollen mier[15] getrestet sein. vnd vns nuch mer er freÿen. In solicher[16] triebsals zeitt. vnd daß Creitzs auf vnß nemen. es ist gwißlich gar leicht.

3. Wem gutt dis gnadt duett geben. All hie zu dißer frist / der kan es auf sich nemen. vnd tragen gewißlich recht. es werd[17] Im leichten kumen. merckht ewen[18] Auff mit fleüß. gutt werts Im helffen tragen. des Ist Im ring[19] vnd leücht /

4. Wer Christum will nach Leben / vnd Im recht fulcken nach / der mueß verfulckhung leitten. vnd auch nuch grußen schmach. es ist Im selbs er gangen / Im landt zu bettlahem / das Ist die erst verfulckhung / Im Neuen testamendt /

5. beÿ Im hadt es an gefangen merckht ewen auf mitt fleiß. darnach mit seinen abpustlen[20]/ die erst verfulckhungs zeit / vnd hatt auch fil erliten / All weil[21] er beÿ vnß war vnd biß In tudt gestridten / die ewig Warhaütt klar /

6. er ißt selbs gwiß die warhaitt. vnd auch nuch daß Leben dorch Im[22] kumbt man zum Vattern[23] / wan mier darnach strewen / dan er hatts gwiß verhaißen. kombt her Ir huch zeit gests[24]/ die ir Alle seidt geladten / mein mal das ist schohn gericht[25]/

[10] *vervulckhung* is divided at the end of the line in the manner indicated; the division mark is lacking in the original. — It may be mentioned here that it is my pleasure to make acknowledgment to Northwestern University for a Grant-in-Aid of Research which enabled me to visit the Bonhomme Colony of the Hutterische Church at Tabor, S. D., where I obtained the song through the kindness of the Rev. Michael Waldner.

[11] *in Thun* = 'im Ton; in its own melody'; according to Beck's version, *op. cit.*, p. 566: "Im thon; 'Endlaubet Ist der walt' zu singen."

[12] Beck's version: *ist gangen.* — For the subscript numeral in the inflectional ending in brackets, e. g., *er gange(n)*, cf. Table I in my study referred to in Footnote 9 above.

[13] "Schützen" = Großschützen, Slov. Velke Levary; cf. Footnote 1.

[14] Stanzas 2-8 incl. are omitted in Beck.

[15] *mi(e)r* = wir: there are 31 instances of *mi(e)r; wir* does not occur in the text at all.

[16] Cf. Footnote 8, item 14: 'solcher'

[17] 'es wird'; cf. Footnote 8, item 1

[18] 'eben'; cf. Footnote 8, item 6

[19] MHG *ring* 'unschwer, leicht'

[20] 'Aposteln'; cf. Footnote 8, item 7

[21] MHG *alle* (*die*) *wile* 'während, solange; while'

[22] Cf. Footnote 8, item 22

[23] This dative sgl. form *Vattern* is not recorded in *Grimms Wörterbuch*, but very frequently in Hutterian writings; cf. my study mentioned in Footnote 9 above, and my edition of *Die älteste Hutterische Chronik* (1943), Glossary.

[24] Thus in the MS

[25] MHG *rihten* 'fertig machen, zubereiten; to prepare'

7. das sein die hoch zeitt geste. Ir Liebsten brietter mein/wan mier ver volckhung leitten. vnd nemen driebsall ein/ vnd das gesatz[26] deuen[27] halten/von den[28] vns gesagt Ist/dan des[24] gebodt ist ein leichter[29]/vnd das gesatz ein liecht/

8. Darumb sollen mier nitt moren[30]/vnd on gedoltig sein. dan gutt thuedt vns probiren/ob mier vns schigen[31] drein/ Inn die ver vulckhungs zeütte die vnß gott selbs herschigt vnd vnß damitt probiret/ob mir schohn sein gericht/[25]

9. Non hatt es sich begeben Alß man geschriben hadt / simhondt[-]erdt Jar merckht ewen/wie es geschriben stedt[32] /vnd weidter heredt[33] ewen/die Jaren[34] alßo gleich/wie da man hatt geschriben/fimfvnd zwainigstsen[35] gleich.

10. den segsten merz sein komen zwen Jeßuwider[36] herr?Da hadt man an gefangen/sich sorgen gar zu sehr was doch das wolde[37] werdten/allhie zu dißer frist/das wil ich ietzundt schreiben/habt acht auff mein[38] bericht/[39]

11. Den simenden merz ist komen?Der Jeßuwider herauff gleich wie ein falsche schlangen[40] In vnßers eldesten hauß/vnd geschwindt mit Im an gefangen/mit seinen falschen wurdt[41]/ ob er Im[42] mechte fangen/merckht ewen weider furdt/

12. Den Achten mertz ist[43] geschehen merckh ewen[44] Auff mit fleiß/da sein sie zu vnß komen/so gar mit falscher weiß/vnd haben vnß alle auff geschriben/von[45] man vnd weibs bersun[46]/ allda ist es gebliben/ein wenig stille stan/

13. Die zeitt hatt sich verluffen[47]/biß auff den zehetten[48] mertzß/der schlim mensch thedt[49]nüt schlaffen/schaudt

[26] The secondary from *gesatz* for *Gesetz* was used much during the 15th and 16th centuries. Thus, the language of the Hutterian 17th and 18th century writings also in this song shows a much older linguistic character than its chronological age.
[27] Thus in the MS; 'tuen; to do'
[28] Cf. Footnote 8, item 21
[29] 'ein Leuchter; beacon'; cf. Footnote 8, item 5
[30] 'murren; to grumble'; cf. Footnote 8, item 8
[31] 'schicken . . . drein; to put up with;' cf. Footnote 8, item 4
[32] Beck's version: *stadt*
[33] 'höret'; cf. Footnote 8, item 5
[34] Beck's version: *Jare;* yet the weak declension is frequent in Bavarian; cf. Footnote 23
[35] Andreas Kuhn writes in his personal entry (cf. the second half of footnote 7) for the year 1710: "den 8 vnd Zwainigten"
[36] The secondary form *Jesuiter* > *Jesuwiter* > *Jesuwider* (cf. *Grimms Wtb.* IV: 2313) was chiefly used during the Reformation period and occasionally until the 17 century.
[37] 'wollte'; Beck's version: *solte;* cf. Footnote 8, item 9
[38] mein = mein'n = meinen
[39] Stanza 11 is omitted in Beck's version.
[40] *schlangen*: MHG *slange* weak masc.; in EaNHG str. fem., here weak fem., nom. sgl.
[41] *wurdt,* str. masc., here dat. pl.; cf. also stanzas 17, 13, 27 (gen. pl.), and 73 (acc. pl.): 'Worten'
[42] Cf. Footnote 8, item 22; cf. stanza 22
[43] Beck's version: *Ists*
[44] Beck's version: *Merkt alle*
[45] Beck's version: *so* instead of *von*
[46] 'Person'; cf. Footnote 8, item 10
[47] verloffen verluffen 'verlaufen'; cf. Footnote 8, item 7
[48] The syncopation of *n* in *zehe(n)tten* is not unknown in other Hutterian writings; cf. my study "An Unpublished 'Hausbrief' of Grimmelshausen's Hungarian Anabaptists" (in *Germanic Review,* Vol. XV, No. 2, April, 1940; Columbia University Press), p. 85, item 4.
[49] thedt (stanzas 13, 44, 600, dett (stanza 33) 'tat; did'

nur[50] wie er vnß verletzt/[51] da hadt er an gefangen/mit seinen wurdten zardt/ob ar vnß mechte fangen/vnd auch bindten hartt/[52]

14. Dan[53] er ist nur[54] gesunen/allhie zu dißer frist/daß er vnß mecht abfiren/ /von[55] weg der warhaitt recht/der das hadt an gefangen/merckht ewen[56] auff mit fleiß/ietzt sing ich auch sein[57] Namen/her schaübenscherer[58] haüst/

15. Mitt Im die ganße rudte[59]/pfaff richter vnd geschwuren sein/gutt mach sie alle zu spudte[60]/wol for den augen dein/das sie nichts kondten richten/ an vnß zu dißer stundt/vnd vnß mechten abfieren von Christÿ vnd seinen[28] bundt/

16. er hatt Im[61] geschwindt[62] fir genumen /vnd gleich zu vnß geschigt eß sollen baldt her komen/edliche brieder das er sie bericht/vnd als sie sein hin komen /zu Im inns zimer hin ein/da hatt er auff getragen[63] die falschen puncckhen[64] sein/

17. Mier sullen vnß nit ferchten[65] nuer In ir[66] kirchen[67] gehn vnd vnßerre[24] kleine kintter/In ir lehr schigen thuen[68]/ da hatt er Angefangen/mit seinen glatten wurdt[41]/ob er vnß mechte fangen/ merckht ewen weidter furdt/[69]

18. Nun kan ich nit Auff herren[70]/von dißer triebsal zeitt/die vns zu handen stuset/mit grußer trauerichkaidt/die weil mir aber wißen/wiß[71] geht von anfang her/die sich in gott beflißen/ mießen fil leitten ser

19. es habenß[72] auch erfaren/die brieder All zu gleich/die nuch zu sabatisch[73] waren/von dißer triebsalls zeit/vnd haben sich schwindt[74] Auf gemachtet[24]/edliche brietter nun/vnd sein zu vns her kome[n] haben vnß wellen tresten tuen/

50 Beck's version: *schaudt, wo er . . .*
51 Beck's version: *verletz*
52 Beck's version: *vndt binden also hart*
53 EaNHG 'denn; for'
54 Beck's version: *wol* instead of *nur*
55 Beck's version: *vom;* cf. Footnote 8, item 21
56 Beck's version: *merket nur*
57 Beck's version: *ich sing auch seinen Namen*
58 This name has the following forms: *schaübenscherer, schawanscher* = -scher'r = scherer (stanza 28), *schabanschere* (stanza 65; cf. Footnote 8, item 1: omission of final *-r* in Bavarian); Beck's version: Schäbenscheny (stanzas 6, i. e., our stanza 14), *Schawänschen* (stanza 15, i. e., our stanza 28), *schawaschene* (stanza 24, i. e., our stanza 65).
59 *rudte* (stanza 15), *rudt* (stanza 44) 'Rotte'; cf. Footnote 8, item 7
60 'Spotte'; cf. Footnote 8, item 7
61 Here the old use of the personal pronoun in place of the modern *sich*
62 *geschwindt* is omitted in Beck's version
63 Beck's version: *auffgedrungen;* MHG *uftragen* 'darbringen; to present'
64 *puncch(t)en*: syncope and apocope of *t* is not unknown in Bavarian; EaNHG weak and mixed declension; 'Punkte; points'
65 ferchten = firchten = fürchten 'to be afraid'
66 Beck's version: *die* instead of *ir*
67 here acc. sgl., weak decl., 'Kirche; church'
68 Beck's version: *In Ire Lehre thon*
69 Stanza 18-20 incl. are omitted in Beck's version.
70 'aufhören; to cease, stop'
71 *wiß* = wie's = wie es
72 es habenß = es haben es; the first *es* is the anticipatory (i. e., grammatical) subject; the second *es* is the indef. neuter acc.
73 'Sabatisch' = Slov. Sobotiste, a small village about 47 km northeast of Velke Levary (= Großschützen) in modern Slovakia, then Hungary
74 MHG *swinde, swint* 'rasch, geschwind; quickly'

20. Allß sie sein zun[75] vns komen/auff schitzen[1] wie Ich meldt/vnd vnß haben befraget/wie es duch Ist bestelt/da haben sie gleich er faren/den handtel ganß vnd gar/der schohn Ist an gefangen/werdt werden offenbar/

21. Nun hadt es sich ver Zugen/biß In den treÿzehenden mertz/vmb Ailff or fur mitage/Nembts duch ein zu hertz[76]/ da haben sie wellen fangen/vnßern elttesten/Jacob Pullman[77] heist sein namen wie ich euch melten thue/

22. Darnach sein[78] mier gestandten/ die gantz schitzingerisch[79] gemain/vnd haben fier Im[22] gestritten/wul vmb die warhait rain/vnd sein hin onder gangen/fier Im[22] sich geoffenbardt/ die hatt er laßen einschlagen/woll In die banden hartt[80]

23. Vnd hadt sie ein gesperett/sechzechen[81] wie ich melt/alßu sein Sie geseße[n]/vnd hambß[82] auch hartt erduldtt/In dißen schweren banden/die Inen sindt angelegt/an hentten vnd an fießen/vnd In ein keller gesperdt/

24. Allda sein sie gesesen. die Liebsten brietter mein/vier vndt zwainsig dag merckh ewen/wil ich euch sagen fein[83] alß non die zeitt ist komen/hatt man kein fleiß nit gespartt. wie Mier In[84] solten helfen. woll auß der gefenckhnus hartt/

25. Da hatt man mießen raißen. nach muttern[85] vnd Preßburg ein alten schutz her endgegen graff adam[86] wie Ich euch meldt. vnd alß man Im[22] hatt gefundten. vnd diße sach vermelt. die vns ist auff getragen.[87] bej ainer straff mit geltt.

26. so hatt er vnß angeben/vnd mit vns mindlich geredt[88] Mier solen nach wien raißen/mit hertzen on ver zagt/vnd alß mier sein hin komen/zum schutz hern gullanüschtz[89] genendt/der ietzs ein bißuff[90] were/bej kaüßerß hoff zur stonndt/[91]

27. Der Last vnß nit fier kumen/Alß man ist komen hin/daß man Im sagt[92] zur stundt/vnd recht berichted Im/das[93] er doch nit solt glauben/der falschen

[75] *zun vns*: the euphonic *n* is used to cover the hiatus, — a frequently used means in Bavarian; cf. Footnote 8, item 1; cf. stanza 63: *zun vnß;* stanza 29: *zum Im*
[76] Beck's version: *Nembs eines doch zu hertz*
[77] This name has the forms of *Pullman* (stanza 21) and *bulman* (stanza 48); Beck's version has *Pulman* and *Bollmann* (*Wolmann, Wulman* in Beck, *op. cit.,* p. 567, Footnote 2).
[78] Beck's version: *wie* instead of *sein*
[79] Beck's version: *schützinger*
[80] Stanza 23 is omitted in Beck's version
[81] *sechzechen* 'sechzehn', a Bavarian form; cf. W§258, pp. 261, 162
[82] *hambß* = haben's = 'haben es'
[83] Beck's version: *wie ich euch sage frei*
[84] *In* = In'n = 'ihnen'
[85] *muttern* 'Modra' (Modern), a small city approximately 28 km northeast of Bratislava (Preßburg) in Slovakia
[86] *graffadam* in the MS; Adam von Dietrichstein[?]
[87] Beck's version: *auffgedrongen*
[88] Beck's version: *graht*
[89] "Sigmund Graf von Kolonitsch, Erzbischof von Wien" who had confirmed the Hutterian deed of conveyance ("Hausbrief") of Velke Levary (Großschützen) on Febr. 1, 1724; cf. p. 83 of my study mentioned in Footnote 48 above.
[90] 'Bischof'; *ß* instead of *sch* occasionally occurs in Bavarian, more frequently in Alemannic; cf. W§154, p. 159; cf. Footnote 8, item 15
[91] Beck's version: *zu handt* instead of *zur stonndt*
[92] Beck's version: *sag*
[93] Beck's version: *als* instead of *das*

lugen wordt[41]/wie man vnß hadt verlugen[94]/merckht ewen weitterfurt/

28. Dan mier sein[95] schohn an geben/von den hern schawanscher[58] er hatt vnßser verlugen[94]/das man vnß glaubt nit mer/er hatt gwiß balt geschriben/ein lugen brief[96] er dacht/das vnß man nur gar balte/von hauß vnd huff ver Jagt.[97]

29. Die weill mir aber wißen/daß gott der helffer ist/wan mier nur zum[75] Im flehen/mit seifzen engstiglich/so wert er vnß er redten. wul auß der feindten[98] handt. vnd sie zu schanden machen/gleich wie die Jeßawell/[99]

30. Die sell[100] Ir[61] auch fier nam / zu schreiben ein lugen Prieff/wider des frumen Nawudt[101]/weil er sein weinberg nit her ließ/sie hatt In auch ver lugen[94]/vnd faillschlich[102] an geklagt/ das er auß gefieret. vnd mit steinen zu dott gemacht

31. es ist Ir aber gangen/nach Irn[28] verdientten Lun[103] zu Jeßrael wardt sie auß geworffen/dragtens[104] die hund dar von. vnd Iren geist auff gaben.[24] wardt ietz duch nimermer/nur vmb des fromen Nawutz[101]/weil sie In ver leugt gar sehr/

32. Nun hered weider ewen/vnd merckhett fleißig auff/die Ir euch brieder nenet/ vnd gott von hertzen glaubt. er werdt vnß nit verlaßen. In aller angst vnd nadt[105]/wan mir nur fleißig betten/ vnd sorgen frie vnd spadt/[106]

33. Allß sich das hatt ver luffen/biß iez auff diße zeitt/der schlin[107] mensch dett[49] nit schlaffen. hebt an ein großen streitt. vnd fanget an zu liegen[108]/ merckht ewen auf fier war/das mir ham[109] welen stirmen/[110] die kastelen[111] gantz vnd gar/

34. Daß er hatt mißen lauffen/In das dritt zimer hin ein. so hatt er vnß verlugen.[94] beÿ allen hern fein. Dreÿbrietter sein wider geraißet na[c]h wien wie Ich melt/ob sie kondten fier komen, vnd sagen wie es ist besteltt/

35. Da hatt es nit sein kenen.[112] zu redten mit Im recht/da sein sie ab gezugen. vnd weider[113] nach hauß getracht/all durtt ist einer geblieben. wie ich des

94 MHG *verliegen* 'verleumden; to slander'; the past participle *verlogen, verlugen;* cf. Footnote 8, item 7
95 *mier sein* (Bavarian for:) 'wir sind'
96 Beck's version: *ein langen briff*
97 Stanzas 29-34 incl. are omitted in Beck's version.
98 *feindten,* gen. pl., MHG *vint,* str. masc., in Bavarian also weak since the 16th century; 'der Feinde; of their enemies'
99 *Jeßawell* 'Isabel'; cf. Footnote 8, item 6.
100 *sell,* generally used in Bavarian, through assimilation for *selb;* cf. stanza 60
101 Cf. Footnote 8, item 6; cf. stanza 31
102 MHG *velschlich* 'betrügerisch, fälschlich; falsely'; cf. W§66, p. 73
103 *Lun* 'Lohn; reward'
104 *dragtens* = tragten sie = 'trugen sie': the weak preterit is rather frequent in upper German even today
105 *nadt* 'die Not; distress'
106 MHG *spat,* adv., 'spät; late'
107 *schlin* 'schlimm; bad, evil': Bavarian *n* and *m* often are interchanged through their close relationship as nasals; cf. stanzas 68: *von* = vom, 75: *in* = im
108 MHG *liegen* 'lügen; te tell lies'
109 *mir ham* (Bavarian for:) 'wir haben'
110 Beck's version, p. 568, Note 1, has *steinen* instead of *stirmen*
111 The fem. gender is frequently used with the usual neuter *kastel* (Lat. *castellum*) in Hutterian writings; here acc. sgl., weak decl.
112 Beck's version: *Vnd da es nit sein kenen*
113 Beck's version: *wider*

melten wer/Jachaneß meÿer heist[114] sein namen.[115] ein Junger brediger/

36. Vnd da die zwen sein komen/mitt großer trauerigkaitt/da lauffen mir zusamen/ham[109] großes hertzen leidt. die weil der brueder daußen[116] bliben/vnd noch gewarttet auff.[117] weiß gott wieß Im wertt gehen. ob er mer[118] kombt na[c]h hauß.

37. Gott hatt ein midell geschigett/das er ist komen haim/vnd hatt vns witter vmb[119] gesehen/bej ein ander in der gemain/aber kain gnadt bekomen/von wegen vnßern leidt[120] die In der gefencknoß sitzen/von wegen der warhaitt/[121]

38. Da ists man widter gangen/vnd hatt sich nit gesämbt/[122] die zeitt werdt schier zu lange/die In der gefencknuß sein/sie mießen schohn er wardten/biß gott ein mittel schigt/vnd euch ein ander tresten/das keiner ver zaget nit/

39. Gott hatt ein mittel geschigett/das sie sein komen herauß/vnd wil euch ietzund schreiben/merckh ewen fleißig auff/man [hat] sich vnder schriben/ In ir kirchen zu gehn/vnd auch die kleinen kinder. In Ir ler schigen thuen/

40. Daß aber vnß nitt zue stehedt/was mier versprochen han/da ham mir schohn geiredt[123]? In vnßers glaubens standt/darumb nembt duch zu hertzen/ Ir liebsten brieder mein/vnd last euch nit ver fieren/vnd dreibt nit gleichnereÿ/[124]

41. Nun heredt weidter eben. waß Ich ietz sing noch mer/vnd nemeds doch zu hertzen/vnd folckh kein falscher lehr. last euch doch nit ver fieren/gwißlich zu aller stundt/wie man schohn offt hadt gesehen/nur biß[125] In ham verwundt.

42. Ob sie vnß schohn verfulckhen/vnd auch verJagen thuen/so sollen mir gott loben. vnd In auch eren thuen/vnd vns deselbig befleißen. weil gutt das selber spricht/so man euch thuett verJagen/ zeucht In ein andre stadt.[126]

43. Gott werdt sie darumb straffen/gleich wie den faraon. der Im[61] hett fier genomen/alle fromen vmb zu bringen/ es ist Im gwißlich geschehen wie Ich euch melten thue/In mer ist er vmbkomen/kein man kam Im dar von/

44. Vnd ist nuch mer geschehen. korach[127] mit seiner rudt[59]/die haben sich versambelt. vnd haben auff mußÿ[128] gewardt. darnach ist gwißlich geschehen/ wie ich das melt/die erdt thedt[49] sich auf machen/vnd faren gleich zur hell/

45. ÿetzs wer[129] ich nuch an heben. vnd auch nuch meldten thuen/was ['ch =

114 Beck's version: *so ist* instead of *heist*
115 *namen* (nom. sgl.): the *-n* also in the nom. sgl. through levelling analogy; cf. stanza 48
116 Beck's version: *drauss;* yet MHG *da-uz* EaNHG *daus* 'draussen; not in the Hutterian colony, i. e., in Vienna.'
117 Beck's version: *gewartet aus*
118 Beck's version: *noch* instead of *mer;* MHG *mer* 'noch; still, yet' (originally only Bavarian usage)
119 'wiederum'; Beck's version: *vnd hat vns wider gsehen beysamen in der gemain*
120 *leidt,* dat. pl., 'Leuten'
121 Stanzas 38-50 incl. are omitted in Beck's version
122 *gesämbt* = gesaimt 'gesäumt'
123 *geiredt* 'geirr(e)t; erred'
124 *gleichnereÿ* (EaNHG; cf. MHG *gelichesen* '(er)heucheln') 'Gleissnerei'
125 *biß* = bis s' = 'bis sie'
126 *stadt* (MHG *stat*) 'Stätte, Stelle, Ort; place'; cf. stanza 63
127 Cf. Footnote 8, item 19
128 *mußÿ* 'Musik'; cf. Footnote 8, item 1
129 *wer ich* 'werde ich'; cf. Footnote 8, item 1

ich][130] auch hab vergeßen/mus ich nuch zaigen an/wÿ mir sindt ser gefluen/mit großer trauerigkaitt/nach sabatisch[73] vnd Jachanÿ[131] mit großen hertzen leidt/

46. Nun aber seidt getröstedt Ir liebsten brieder mein. ob sie vnß schohn verJagen/solen mir nit traurig sein. sonder vns vil mer erfreÿen/fier solche gnaden stundt/was gott auff vnß hat geschiget/danckh Im mit hertzen vnd mundt/

47. Nun kan Ich nit auff heren. In rechten eiffer mein/vnd nembs doch zu hertzen/Ir großen vnd Ir klain/was sich noch hadt begebe[n] In vnßerren hoff fier war. das ist gwißlich geschehen/singt doch des Imer dar.

48. Auß den hauß hatt mießen weichen/ wie[132] das ietzund meldt/brueder bulman[77] haist sein namen.[114] der Ist vns fier gestelt/zu eine[m,-n] hirdten vnd lere:[133] gewißlich der gantzen gemain gott gib In doch gedolte das er vnß regieret fein/

49. Darnach ist es geschehen/wie das ver ÿber[134] ist/als sie sein aus gezogen/ habt acht auff mein bericht/da hatt sich ainer gefunden/wie Ich das ietzundt melt/ein falscher mensch zur stundte/vnd auch ein beßer[135] gesell/

50. Der hatt sich an gebutten. In dißen hauß zu sein. er welle[136] sich drain ziegen[137]/vnd das werckh fieren fein/ es werdt im aber nit gelingen/gwißlich zu aller sindt/gott werdt im gwißlich straffen/der solches hatt gefangen an/

51. ÿetz will ich noch mer singen merckht ewen fleißig auff/waß sich auch hatt begeben. In einer nacht ein strauß[138]/ da sein sie zu vnß komen/mit rechter raubers ardt/hellemeir[139] vnd Jeßowidter/der fil daran schuldig wardt/

52. Vnd haben an gefangen/In huff herom zu gehn/vnd mitt gewalt an gefangen die dieren auff gesprengt. allda Ist man erschrugen. vnd wurden all verzagt/ das man vns nit last rueen/vnd blagt vnß In der nacht/[140]

53. Nun herett wiedter an. Ir Christen Allegemain/wie unß Paulluß thuet leren/mir sollen nur glaubig sein. die weil er selbste thuett sprechen/vnd gibt vns ein bericht/das der gerecht wirdt leben/seines glaubens paulluß spricht/

54. Dan gwißlich Ist der glauben. nit nuer ein ader wuhn.[141] wie die welt menschen meinen/die In in meht[142] vmb ziehen/er leb gleich wÿ er welle[136]/es sej recht oder nit/wen er nur gott bekenne/vnd[143] wan gleich die werckh sein nüt/

130 *was auch* = was 'ch auch = 'was ich auch'
131 'St. Johann' (Slov.: Sv. Jan), a village about 30 km southeast of Lundenburg in Slovakia
132 *wie* = wie i' = 'wie ich'
133 The omission of final *-r* is not unknown in Bavarian; cf. Footnote 8, item 1.
134 *ver ÿber* (*e*<*o* is not unknown in Bavarian) 'vorüber; past'
135 *beßer* 'böser; bad, evil'
136 *welle* 'wolle' (Bavarian usage; cf. stanza 54
137 *ziegen* (cf. stanzas 63; 56: *zigen*) 'ziehen'; *sich drain ziegen* 'einziehen; to move in, take residence'
138 Beck's version: *strait*
139 This name has the forms *hellemeir* (stanza 51), *helmmair* (stanza 58), *helmair* (stanza 65), and *Helmmeir* (stanza 72). Apparently no biographical data are available of him.
140 Stanzas 53-57 incl. are omitted in Beck's version.
141 *wuhn* (*a* darkened to *u*) 'der Wahn; illusion'; *ader* = eder = 'öder; vague'
142 'die ihn (i. e., den Glauben) im Met herumziehen'
143 *vnd* was added before *wan* m_1

55. Denckhen nit daranÿ[144] wie vnß Jacobes lerdt/das der glaub onnj[144] die werckhe/sie[145] gwißlich alles dutt/daromb sollen mier nit zweifflen/vnd gwiß recht glaubig sein/vnd die werckh wol fieren/biß in den thudt hinein.

56. Darumb last euch nit verfieren Ir brieder allgemain/ob sie gleich zu vns komen/vnd iren samen streüen/vnd vnß damit zu fangen/vnd auch In zigen[137] recht/glaubt doch nit iren wurdten/sie sein nur falsche knecht/

57. Jetz far ich furtt noch weidter/merckh eben fleißig auff. waß ich nuch mer wil singen. wie man vns hatt geraubt[146] vnd darnach weg getragen/wie ich das ietzond sing. In die kastelen[111] hin vnder/vnd ein zeit durtt gebliben/

58. Der dißeß hatt an gefangen. will ich euch melden thuen. helmmair[139] heist er mit namen[147]/so gar[148] ein schlimer man/der hatt sich gar versprochen[149]/ vnd gwißlich daß geredt. der sadan soll In hullen/wan mier mer[118] haben blatz.[150]

59. In vnßeren[28] hoff zu bleiben/es ist gewiß vnd war/mir sollen nit dran denckhen/vnd auch nit glauben tran[151]/allhie ein blaßl[152] zu haben. habt acht auff mein bericht/ietzt hab ich von Im geschriben. ein rechts antiuchisch geschlecht/

60. Der sell[153] thedt[49] nit nach laßen. vnd thracht nur weider furdt. wie er vns mecht verfulckhen/von hauß vnd hof gar furdt. nun hatt es sich begeben. In ainer kurtzen zeitt. das mir sein auß gezogen/mit großer traurigkaitt.

61. Vnd den hoff leir[154] gelaßen. In friden gottes sten. vnd nach Jahanÿ[131] gezugen/ein hibesches[155] volckh gar schohn.[156] all durtt sein mier gebliben. fimff wochen[157] wie Ich melt/In dießen ellendt gruße/seÿ alles gott heim gestelt.[158]

62. Gott werdt vnß schohn baldt helfen. gleich wie den keischen Ingling. Jußeff hadt er gehaißen/ein ertz vatter Jacobs Kindt/der wardt auch sehr ver lugen[94]/ vnd failich[159] an geklagt/gott hett[160] im aber geholfen/vnd In zu einen heren gmacht/

63. Nun sing ich ÿetz noch weitter vnd laß gwiß nuch nit nach. wÿ sein[161] zun[75]

144 *daranÿ* = 'daran(e)'; cf. stanzas 55: *onnj* 'ohne' and 67: *schehnÿ* 'schöne': irrational *i*<*e;* cf. Footnote 8, item 1
145 *sie,* misspelled for *sei*
146 MHG *rouben* 'berauben; to rob (of)'
147 Beck's version: *haisst sein namen*
148 MHG *gar* 'ganz (und gar); thoroughly'
149 MHG *sich versprechen* 'sich anheischig machen, geloben; to vow'
150 Beck's version: *plätz.* The sentence is continued at the beginning of stanza 59. Stanza 59 is omitted in Beck's version.
151 *tran* 'd(a)ran'; cf. Footnote 8, item 20
152 *blaßl* 'Plätz(e)l(ein), Plätzchen': *ß* substitutes for *tz;* - *(e)l* is one of the Bavarian diminutive endings
153 Beck's version: *Derselbe;* cf. Footnote 100
154 *leir* (MHG *laere*) 'leer; vacant'
155 *hibesches* (the indefinite glide sound between consonants; cf. W§17) *'hübsches;* pretty'; cf. footnote 185
156 Beck's version: *schön*
157 Beck's version: *fümpff wochen wol wie . . .*
158 Stanzas 62-64 incl. are omitted in Beck's version.
159 *failich* (MHG *vaelic*) 'betrügerisch, fälschlich; falsely'; cf. stanzas 64: *fellig;* 79: *gefailedt* (MHG *valen, veilen* 'übergehen, verfehlen; to omit, miss'), *feillen* 'fehlen, sich irren; to err'
160 *hett*<hebit 'hat; has'
161 *wÿ s' sein* = wie sie sein = 'wie sie sind'

vnß komen/auff Jahanÿ[131] ich ietzondt sag/vnd ham vnß wider versprochen/ vnd mindlich mit vnß geredt/mir solen wider auff ziegen[162] In vnßer alte stadt.[126]

64. Vndt duch nit mer getenckhen An dißes ellendts groß/was sie ham angefangen. das sie vns ham verstus[en]. von vnser[n, -m] hauß vnd hofe/gantzs fellig[159] außgetrim/mir sollen nit dran denckhen. es ist schohn alles vergeben/[163]

65. Alß die sein selbs herkomen[164] die vorhin so schlim warn/helmair vnd schabanschere[165]/zaig ich euch ietzondt an. die geben vns guette wurtte/allhie zu dißer stundt. mier sollen nur vmb keren. vnd bleiben auff vnßserren bundt/[166]

66. Darnach ham mier baltt glaubedt/vnd vnß gemachtett auff/vnd wider ein gezogen In vnßerm[167] alten hauß/nach schitzen[13] ich euch sage. damir[24] auch forhin warn[168]/danckht gott mit herzen vnd mundte/das es bleibt in rue standt/[169]

67. Eß ist kein weitzs[170] zu schehnÿ[144]/ ier Liebsten brieder mein/daß nit onkraudt ist drunntter/das deitt ich[171] auff die gmain/vnd mein duch nur die menschen/die sich ver sprochen han/ wol in dem bondt des dauffes[172]/vnd ietzs abfallen thien.[173]/

68. Vnd laßen sich verfieren/gewißlich von rechten weg. den vnß gutt ist vor gangen.[174] vnd selbs gebanet[175] hatt/ vnd hadt gwißlich gesprochen. vnd auch noch das geredt/man sol das on krautt auß Jetten/vnd thuehn von waitzen weg

69. Nun ist es bej vns geschehen. da ist gewiß vnd war/ein kleiner windt ist komen.[176] balt vber vns daher. der fanged an zu sausen.[177] mit großer[178] ernst vnd macht/woll vber den wätzhauffen.[179] die spreüern darvon Jagt/ [180]

70. ietz sing ich von den spreÿern[180]/waß doch die selbing[181] sein/die dar von sindt geflogen[182]/hinauß aus unßere[183] gemain/das seine[184] solhiche[185] menschen. habt acht auff meine wordt[186]/

162 MHG *ufziehen* 'einziehen; to move in, take residence'
163 instead of *verzieh(e)n* [?] because of the rhyme
164 Beck's version: *Alss (da) sein hingekomen die . . .*
165 with omission of final *-r*: *schabanschere(r)* cf. Footnote 58
166 Beck's version: *an vnser stell*
167 Beck's version: *In vnsre alten hauss*
168 Beck's version: *da wir vorhin gewohnet*
169 Stanzas 67-68 incl. are omitted in Beck's version.
170 *weitzs* (MHG *weiz*, str. weak masc.) 'Weizen; wheat'
171 *ich* ss. m_1; *deitt* - 'ich deute; I consider this to mean'
172 *des dauffes* (MHG touf, masc.) 'die Taufe; baptismal'
173 *thien* < *tüen* = 'tu(e)n; to do', a form frequent in Tirol and Carinthia; cf. W§301, p. 303; §89, p. 92; §300, p. 302
174 MHG *vor gen* 'vorangehen; to precede'
175 *gebanet* = gebahn(e)t
176 Beck's version: *geschehen, dass da ein kleiner sturm kam*
177 Beck's version: *der fanget zu sausen an*
178 Beck's version: *grossen*
179 Beck's version: *Waitzenhauffen*
180 Beck's version: *die sprei er davon jagt;* yet spreüern (cf. stanza 70: *spreÿern;* Beck here has *spreien*) is the correct upper German weak plural form which is still used today (cf. OHG *spriuwir*, MHG *spriuwer*)
181 *die selbing* (adj.; contraction of *selbigen;* Beck has *die Selbig*) 'selbig; the same'
182 Beck's version: *die da nun hingeflogen*
183 Beck's version: *aus der gemain*
184 *e*, ss. m_1 'sind'; omitted in Beck's version

die gott Nie haben erkenedt/Merckh eben weitter fordt/

71. Nun seindt von vnß auß gangen/gwißlich von rechten weg. biß eilf sellen[187] die samen [188]/haben gesucht ein braiden steg/daß sÿ doch beßer kenen/ wandlen drauff wie sie weln.[189] vnd Iren Mudt[190] erfillen/In dißer blinden welt.[191]

72. ietz mueß ich nuch anheben/vnd auch melten thuhen. waß sich auch hadt begeben. mit den recht schlimen man. der sich hatt ser ver sprochen[149]/vnd auch verschwuren hatt. Helmmeir[139] hat er gehaißen. merckh recht auff meine wurdt.

73. Alß mier acht dag da waren/denckht gott an seine wurtt[41] wie er sich hatt verschwuren/warff In balt auf das bedt/vnd macht mit Im ein ende/mueß weg von dißer welt. das ist gewißlich gschehen. gans eilends vnd gans schnell.

74. Gott Last mit Im[61] nit schertzen/ merckh auff Ir groß vnd klein er kendt die menschenhertzen. ob sie sindt from vnd rain. Dan[192] er werdt gwiß ver gelten. ein iettlichen[193] nach seinen werckh. die er auff erdt[194] hatt gewirckhet. ach mensch hests[195] auf gemerckht.[196]

75. Nun habt ier ietz vernomen Ier geschwistrigett[197] allgemain/von dißer Triebsalß zeite. die vnß Ist drungen ein/vnd derfft nit anderst gedenckhen/ das vnß gott nur brabiertt.[198] gleich wie das golt in feuer/ob mier wern sein bewairtt/[199]

76. Christuß duett gwißlich sprechen/sällig seidt alle Ir. so Ir ver folgung leident.[200] vmb meines namens hier/ vnd auch gehaszet werdend.[200] von allen menschen kindt.[201] duetts[202] daromb nit ver zagen. bleibt steiff biß an das endt;

77. Auff das ier seidt fullkomen/vnd kainen mangel habt/vnd nüt in glauben wanckhen. wie vnß Jacobes sagt/vnd

185 *solhiche* (the indefinite glidal sound between consonants; cf. W§20, p. 36) 'solche; such'; cf. Footnote 155
186 Beck's version: *mein Bericht*
187 *sellen* = Seelen
188 Beck's version: *zusamen, die haben . . .*
189 Beck's version: *steg, darauf sie wöllten wandlen* (*Lücke*) *vnd . . .*
190 *Mudt* 'Sinn, Absicht' (cf. Mutwillen, Gemüt; Engl. mood 'caprice')
191 Stanza 72 is omitted in Beck's version
192 Beck's version: *Da*
193 *iettlich* (MHG secondary form *ietlich* for *ieteslich*) *'jeder,* jeglich; every'; Beck has *jecklichem*
194 Beck's version: *erdten*
195 hests = hättest; Beck has *hab*
196 Stanzas 75-80 are omitted in Beck's version
197 *geschwistrigett* (MHG *geswistergit*) 'Geschwister; sisters and brothers'
198 *brabiertt* (*p* before liquids > *b*; *o* opened to *a*: both traits especially Bavarian) 'probiert; tried'
199 *mier wern sein bewairtt* 'wir werden bewährt sein'
200 *Ir leident . . . werdent* (the 2nd pers. pl. ending in *-ent* is infrequently used in Bavarian, yet it occurs; since the Hutterians read primarily — if not exclusively — religious writings which originated in Switzerland (e. g., the Froschauer Bible) the frequent occurrence of *-ent* in this grammatical form may be ascribed to Swiss influence) 'ihr leidet'
201 *kindt* (dat. pl.) 'Kindern'; *Grimms Wtb.* cites the nom. and acc. pl. *kint* from the 16th century, *kinden* as the dat. pl.; cf. Footnote 120
202 *duetts* (Bavarian for:) 'tut'; cf. W§3, p. 12; -s = es (ös), dual form with plural meaning (Bavarian!) 'ihr'

thuedt noch mer verhaißen/sagt seilig[203] ist der man. der die versuechong doltet. der sol derlangen[204] die kron/

78. Nun sein mier nuer getuldig/Ir liebsten brieder mein gleich wie ein agersman. dult[205] mit den frichten sein.[206] daz er nur baltt erlange/den murgen vnd abendt regen/mier solen nur auch dulten[205]/sues vnß vbel gehn

79. Jetz bitt ich euch von hertzen/Ier liebsten brieder mein/su Ich hab was gefailedt[159] welt mier doch das verzeichen[207]/die weil mier duch nur menschen sein gwiß auff dißer erdt/vnd könen gar balt feillen[159]/wie vnß die schrifft auch lerdt/

80. Nun wil ichs ietzundt beschließen. vnd machen gwiß ein endt/weil es ist dar zue komen/vnd ist ins gsang[208] gestelt/diß liett allen den fromen/vnd ist gewißlich war/daß wellen mir alle zeitt singen. amen daß wertte war . . .

[203] *seilig, sällig* (stanza 76) 'seelig; blessed'
[204] *derlangen* (the Bavarian prefix *der-* for *er-*) 'erlangen; obtain'
[205] *dult* = dultet = 'duldet' (infinitive *dulden*) 'Geduld haben; to have patience' [?]; cf. last line of this stanza; *dulten*
[206] *sein* = sein'n = seinen
[207] *verzeichen* (Bavarian for:) 'verzeihen; forgive'
[208] *ins gsang* (originally neuter, still so in Bavarian) 'der Gesang'

TWO LETTERS BY LEUPOLD SCHARNSCHLAGER

Edited by Gerhard Hein

[EDITOR'S NOTE: The two letters by Leupold Scharnschlager (d. 1563) presented herewith are reprinted from the article by Gerhard Hein entitled "Leupold Scharnschlager, Ein Mitarbeiter Pilgram Marpecks," published in *Mennonitische Geschichtsblätter,* Jahrgang 4, Nr. 1, August, 1939, Frankfurt a. M., Germany, pp. 6-12. According to Hein, Scharnschlager addressed an epistle to Michael Leubel at Speyer, Christmas, 1532, which was carried from Strasburg, then the residence of Scharnschlager, to Leubel at Speyer by a newly-baptized Anabaptist convert named Thomas Adolf. The original letter and a copy made by Thomas Adolf are to be found in the Speyer Archives. Michael Leubel died as an Anabaptist martyr by drowning in the Rhine at Speyer on January 30, 1533, soon after he received the letter. The second letter is an epistle addressed by Scharnschlager, sometime after 1546 from his residence in Ilanz in the Grisons, Switzerland, to a group of Brethren in Moravia. Hein fails to report the present location of the original letter or how he secured a copy, stating merely that it was preserved by a certain Wernhard Riepl and used in 1579 to assist in settling a disputed question among the Brethren in Moravia.

The letter to Leubel treats the themes of Baptism and Original Sin and expounds a well-balanced view which is characteristic of the Anabaptist viewpoint. Identical views are contained in Pilgram Marpeck's *Vermahnung* of 1542 and his *Verantwortung* of 1544. The letter to the Brethren in Moravia of ca. 1546 treats the theme, Letter and Spirit in the Holy Scriptures, or the Meaning and Use of the Holy Scriptures.

Hein has modernized the German of Scharnschlager.]

I. Ueber Taufe und Erbsünde.

To Michael Leubel at Speyer, 1532.

Gnade, Friede und Trost von Gott, unserm himmlischen Vater durch Jesum Christum, unserm Herrn und Heiland, wünsche ich Dir von Herzen, geliebter Bruder! Ich habe vor einiger Zeit, als Hans und Margreth hierher kamen, erfahren, was Dir in des Herrn Sache wiederfahren ist, und deswegen Deinethalben geseufzt und Leid getragen, wiewohl daneben auch einen Trost gehabt, der Wiedergrundgewinnung und Erweckung durch Gottes Barmherzigkeit, und gute Zuversicht in Ansehung all des guten Herzens, so Du gegen den Herrn und die Seinigen gehabt hast, mit mir und all den Seinen und des Herrn Untertanen; und besonders jetzt habe ich von Thomas vernommen samt den Geschwistern Hans und Margreth, die Du im Herrn wiederum erquickt, befestigt und getröstet seist, was mich und sie von Herzen freut, in der Hoffnung, der Herr werde alles zu hoher Vorsichtigkeit, Stärke und Weisheit und Trost geraten heiszen zu seinem Preis; darum wir denn für Dich und uns alle treulich seufzen, dasz er uns alle in seinem heiligen Bund stärke und erhalte bis an das Ende, danksagen auch demnach dem geliebten Vater treulich für Dich und Deine Erquickung, des-

wegen wir dann in ungezweifelter Zuversicht stehen, der himmlische Vater sei Deines Namens im barmherzigen Gedächtnis im Buche der Lebendigen, in Ansehung, dasz Du auch von den Brüdern des Herrn seiner Zeit, wo es sich begibt, garnicht unangenehm noch gestrichen werden wirst, ungezweifelt, so es anders also bei Dir ist, wie wir vom Herrn ungezweifelt hoffen und danksagen Gott durch Jesum Christum, unsern Herrn.

Geliebter Bruder! Die Margreth läszt Dich samt mir treulich grüszen im Herrn, desgleichen der Hans Urmacher, so verschiedener Zeit bei Dir gewesen ist, läszt Dich im Herrn grüszen und trösten, denn Dein alter Diener schreibt Dir nämlich selber.

Geliebter Bruder! Ich nehme eine Verwunderung an Caspar Schuhmacher, dasz er also ungenöter Sachen von des Herrn Bund und Taufe, wie ich sagen höre, abgewendet ist. Ich wollte gern wissen, wie und aus was für Grund und Ursachen. Ich hoffe ja, der Herr gebe, ists sein Wille, dasz wir leiblich zusammenkommen und davon reden. Er soll nämlich gesagt haben, wo er nicht getauft wäre, wollte er sich nimmer taufen lassen. Das wäre ja kräftig verleugnet. Gott gebe ihm zu erkennen, was er tut. Ich bitte Dich, Du wollest von meinetwegen und des Herrn wegen mit ihm diese meine Meinung reden oder diesen Brief ihm zu lesen geben, was er dazu sagt; spottet er, so wird er mit der Spötter Lohn empfangen. Gott läszt sich nicht spotten noch mit ihm und seinem Bund scherzen. —

Es ist ja ein bloszes Wasser, das wir empfangen. Wir empfangen es ja nicht wie die Welt, also, dasz wir mit ihr die Seligkeit an das blosze Wasser setzen, so heiszen wir ja das *blosze Wasser nicht allein die Taufe. Wir scheiden ja den Bund des Herzens nicht vom Wasser,* wie die Welt tut mit den Kindern, die da glaubt, wo die Kinder nicht mit Wasser begossen würden, so würden sie nicht selig, das doch ein Erzgreuel, Abgötterei und Aberglaube vor dem lebendigen Gott ist, und wird dadurch das Verdienst, die Menschwerdung, das Leiden und Sterben Christi aufs höchste gelästert und geschändet, wo das Kind eine *Erbsünde* sollte haben, wie Christus zu den Schriftgelehrten sprach, da sie sprachen: Sind wir denn blind, da sprach der Herr: Wäret ihr blind, so hättet ihr keine Sünde, so ihr nun sprechet, ihr sehet, so bleiben eure Sünden. —

Wir reden nicht anders von der Taufe, denn wie die Schrift es tut, wir heiszen und halten allein das für Taufe, wie Petrus sagt, nämlich: Die Taufe ist nicht das Abtun des Unflats am Fleisch, sondern *der Bund des guten Gewissens mit Gott* durch die Auferstehung Jesu Christi. Das ist nicht also zu verstehen, dasz Petrus mit diesen Worten das Wasser vom Bund löse. Er hätte sonst unbillig selbst mit Wasser getauft; sondern *Bund und Wasser miteinander* heiszt er die Taufe. Er läszt keines vom andern, er läszt keines ohne das andere. Wo aber der Bund nicht ist, da ist auch keine Taufe. Dieweil die Kinder den Bund nicht haben, so können sie auch nicht getauft werden. Ihre Taufe ist keine Taufe. — Und noch klarer redet Paulus von der rechten Taufe, die wir halten nach dem Grund und Brauch des apostolischen hl. Geistes, da Paulus sagt vom *"Wasserbad im Wort." Wir halten das für keine Taufe, wo das Wort neben und vor dem Übergusz nicht in das Herz fällt noch fallen kann. So können wir auch äuszerliche Werk oder Wasser nicht vom innerlichen scheiden wollen,* wo anders wir die Taufe, die Christus hat äuszerlich eingesetzt und befohlen, unaufgehoben und unzertrennt lassen. Wir würden sonst das Abendmahl und anderes auch aufheben. Das sei ferne! Ja, wo wir Geist wären und nicht noch äuszerlich

leiblich in der Welt wären, so möchte es sein. Es ist aber noch nicht an demselben. Summa: *es ist nur eine einige Taufe, die steht im inneren und äuszeren Werk miteinander unzertrennt,* wie auch ist nur ein Gott, ein Glaube, ein Herr und Gott unser aller.

Nun wollte ich gerne wissen, was doch dem Caspar an dieser Taufe fehlt. Hat er sie nicht also empfangen oder ist der Bund des guten Gewissens nicht in ihm vorhanden gewesen. So fällt er billig ab; er sollte Busze tun! Wolle er aber allein den Bund haben und das Wasser davon scheiden und verwerfen, so lasse er ja die wahrhaftige Taufe, das da Taufen heiszt bei den Auserwählten; ja auch die empfohlene Taufe und den Befehl Christi löst er auf und hat hiermit keine Taufe. Denn wer nicht in Christi Lehre und Befehl bleibt, hat ja keinen Gott, sagt Johannes. Will er sich aber nochmals der vermeintlichen Kindertaufe behelfen, das ich doch nicht glaube, so ist er ja verfinstert wie die Welt und im Greuel und Abgötterei mit der Welt begriffen.

Solches, geliebter Bruder, dünkt es Dich gut und dasz er nicht lästert, so zeige das alles an. Vielleicht möchte er in sich schlagen. Ich habe zwar keinen Zweifel, wo ich mit ihm reden könnte, ich wollte ihm die Erkenntnis, so mir Armen der Herr hat in solchem Fall mitgeteilt, nochmals erinnern, dasz er wieder auf die Bahn kommen möchte; er wollte denn selber nicht, so kann nicht allein ich ihm nicht helfen, sondern der Herr selbst hilft keinem, der nicht will. Du wollest Dir also aller Dinge lassen anbefohlen sein, wie Du vom Herrn gelehrt bist. Solches alles auch in Güte von mir annehmen. Ich tue es allein als ein schlechtes Mitglied im Herrn. Die Gnade Gottes durch Jesum Christum sei mit uns allen zu allen Zeiten. Amen.

Im Bunde im Herrn unwürdig Leopold Scharnschlager.

II. Über Buchstaben und Sinn der Heiligen Schrift.

To the Brethren in Moravia, after 1546.

Ihr lieben Brüder! Nachdem Ihr zum öftern Mal in Eurem Schreiben meldet vom Wort "Buchstaben," achte ich, Ihr habt im Buch der *"Verantwortung auf Schwenckfelds Judicium"* im 4. Kapitel der 96. Antwort wohl vernommen, wie dasselbige Wort zu vernehmen und wider den Schwenckfeld gebraucht sei worden, und derhalben, wie ich hoffe, nichts dawider sei, und ist mein Verstand auch also, nämlich, dasz solches Wort ["Buchstaben"], wo es steht in dem Zeugnis Neuen Testaments, als Röm. 2; 2. Kor. 3, sei das schriftliche Gesetz, Gebot oder Buchstaben des mosaischen Dienstes und Amtes Alten Testaments, so durch solchen Buchstaben tötet, die Verdammnis und Vermaledeiung predigt. Röm. 7; 2. Kor. 3; Gal. 3, durch welche Sünde der Tod und die Verdammnis als der Sünde Sold kommt. Röm. 5, 6, 7; Hebr. 2; Kol. 2; Jak. 1.—Und das Gesetz ist mit seinen gesetzlichen Buchstaben die Kraft der Sünden und die Sünde der Stachel des Todes. 1. Kor. 15. Es richtet nur Zorn an, Röm. 4, und macht niemand lebendig, fromm und rechtfertig vor Gott. Gal. 2, 3. Denn es war ihm unmöglich Röm. 8; Act. 13; Hebr. 8. 10.

Und also wie oben lautet ist das Wort "Buchstaben" zum ersten der tötende Buchstabe des Amts Mose Alten Testaments und nicht das schriftliche Gesetzesamt Neuen Testaments, so den heiligen lebendigmachenden Geist und Gnade mitbringt durch den Glauben 2. Kor. 3. Unter dem oben genannten toten Buchstaben sind die Jünger Christi ja nicht mehr verbun-

den wie sie es gewesen sind, ehe sie lebendig wurden, sondern sind unter der Gnade und dem Regiment des Heiligen Geistes, zu welchem Regiment das Wort und Amt des Neuen Testaments gehört und nicht des Alten, das durch den Buchstaben tötet. Denn wer nicht dadurch getötet wird, der kann durch das Amt des Neuen Testaments nicht zum Leben kommen. Röm. 7. Wer aber also getötet wird, der mag durchs Amt und Schrift (als auch Predigt) des Neuen Testaments lebendig werden, so ers glaubt. Joh. 3. 5. 6. 10. 11. 20.—Durch diesen Glauben empfängt man den Heiligen Geist. Gal. 3, Joh. 7, Eph. 1, der da lebendig macht und das Leben hat, ist und wirkt. Joh. 6, Röm. 8, Gal. 2, 2. Kor. 3.—

Darum gebührt uns, die heilige Schrift zum Amt des Neuen Testaments gehörig, nicht einen toten Buchstaben zu nennen, wie es etliche nennen, weil sich selbst solche Schrift Neuen Testaments nirgends also (Röm. 1, 2. Tim. 3!), sondern "heilige Schrift" nennt. Denn sie wird durch solchen Namen ("Buchstaben") geachtet und verdächtigt für den genannten toten Buchstaben des Gesetzes, so sie uns doch zum Leben dient und gegeben ist, um dessentwillen er billiger ein *lebendigmachender Buchstabe* hiesze. Sie wird auch durch das Wort "Buchstaben" verunehrt und ihr rechter Name wird "Heilige Schrift" genannt. Denn warum heiszt sie "Heilige Schrift?" Nämlich darum, dasz sie (2. Petri 1) von heiligen Menschen Gottes, ja von den heiligen Evangelisten und Aposteln, geredet, geschrieben, vom Heiligen Geist getrieben und von Gott (2. Tim. 3) eingegeben, und dem *rechten Sinne nach nicht ein toter Buchstabe,* sondern das heilig gepredigte Wort Gottes, ja eine *seligmachende und lebendige Kraft Gottes,* die da selig macht alle, die daran glauben. Röm. 1, 2. Tim. 1. — Und so ich solches lese oder lesen höre, so gilt es mir gleich soviel, als hört ich des Herrn oder seiner Apostel Reden oder Predigten, wie es denen, zu welken der hl. Paulus und andere geredet und geschrieben haben, gleich soviel hat gegolten, als wenn sie es mündlich hörten von ihnen reden. Sonst weisz ein jeglicher natürliche Mensch wohl, dasz die Buchstaben, damit die heilige Schrift geschrieben ist, an ihnen selbst, auszer des wahren Verstands und der Erkenntnis, nur eine tote Tinte und Papier ist, gleich wie sonst in anderen weltlichen Schriften; aber *dem wahren Verstand, Sinn und Meinung* nach ist solche Schrift Neuen Testaments nicht eine tote Tinte noch Buchstaben.

Wem heilige evangelische Schrift und Zeugnis mit ihrem Sinn und Verstand im Herzen durch den Heiligen Geist nicht aufgetan und lebendig gemacht wird, dem ist ja nicht allein die Heilige Schrift tot, sondern Christus selbst samt seiner Lehre, Leben, Leiden, Sterben und Auferstehen ist ihm kein Nutzen zum ewigen Leben und ja nur ein totes Ding, ob er gleich die Schrift brauche und lese, so lang und oft er will. So heiszt ein solcher wohl schriftgelehrt, soviel und weit er sie als ein natürlicher Mensch versteht; er heiszt und ist darum aber nicht geistlich noch geistgelehrt, noch zum Reiche Gottes schriftgelehrt. Denn solchen allen ist ja die Heilige Schrift für ihre Herzen nichts nutz zur Seligkeit, sondern ist und bleibt ihnen allezeit eine tote Schrift und Buchstaben. Aber nicht um der Schrift willen, sondern um ihrer unverständigen, unbuszfertigen, ungläubigen und verfinsterten Herzen wegen, denen solche Schrift und Predigt des Evangeliums im Herzen nicht lebt. — Die Schrift aber ist an ihr selbst das geredete Wort Gottes. Deswegen dürft Ihr sie nicht einen toten Buchstaben heiszen, sondern "Heilige Schrift," wie sie sich denn selbst nennt.

BOOK REVIEWS

Friesennot. By Werner Kortwich. Leipzig, 1935. Pp. 77. Inset Bücherei No. 447. Inset Verlag.

Friesennot is a slender volume written in neo-classicist style, in simple and poetic language with not a superfluous word. As can be expected, the impression of the picture is more important than historical accuracy, and is very clearly delineated. The central idea is the conflict in the soul of a Frisian village on the Volga as its inhabitants face the brutality of the bolshevik soldiery who occupy the village. The Frisians, who are absolutely isolated (they do not even know of potatoes at the time of the World War) and nonresistant, struggle between maintaining their Christianity with its nonresistance or abandoning it in order to defend themselves from the barbarism of the bolsheviks. The situation in the village becomes steadily and evenly worse (almost in a mathematical curve) as the barbarism of the soldiery unfolds, until the traditional religion of the Frisians collapses.

In the midst of a virgin forest on the Volga lay the old village settled by a Frisian sect many years before. They had left North Frisia after the Thirty Years' War in search of a new home and found this plot of land on the Volga which no one had claimed. Although they had left their home for the sake of their nonresistant religion, which bade them endure wrong, they had found it necessary several times to defend themselves from attack on the long journey eastward through Poland toward the Volga.

Es war wohl auch so, dass sie an dem Evangelium des Nichtwiderstandes erst zu geringe Zeit lernten, und es ihnen noch nicht so fest sass wie später. (page 7).

Jürgen Wagner was the spiritual leader of the community; a Jürgen Wagner had always occupied that position.

Die beiden Wege nach draussen lagen manchmal zwanzig und mehr Jahre lang zugewachsen. Was es in der Welt an Neuem gab, war den Braunen ni der Südsee altvertraut, lange ehe es seinen Weg durch den Urwald an der Wolga fand. . . . Sie hielten zweimal wöchentlich ihre Betversammlungen ab nach den Regeln eines sonst ewig vergessenen Eiferers, der vor bald dreihundert (*sic!*) Jahren seinen Meister Martin Luther hatte übertrumpfen wollen. . . . Ihrer keiner brachte die Zähne mehr auseinander als nötig.

In the World War nine of these peasants were drafted into the Russian army; of these only Jürgen Wagner returned. Three months later a Soviet inspector and ten Cossacks were quartered on the village to superintend the delivery of grain and other produce to the government. By this time the Soviets had learned that a dead peasant delivers no grain. "Also liessen sie die Arbeitstiere leben, solange sie nicht wild wurden."

It never occurred to the Frisians to oppose the orders of the officer; their sect taught submission to all orders of the government. They shipped their goods out without any sign of emotion. The women at first enjoyed feeding the hungry-looking Cossacks and were astonished that the nourishing food did not seem to produce the expected results. But before long the hams and sausages had all been devoured and the women took to hiding the few remnants of food. Finally game became the most dependable source

of food supply. Gradually the Cossacks became bolder. They stole; and when they were drunk they struck the Frisian men. Klaus Niegebüll was enraged by the vicious facial blow one of them gave him." "Jeder von uns zerdrückt zwei von ihnen, und du, Jürgen, vier, wenn du willst." In a few days the same thing happened to Jürgen.

Jürgen Wagner hätte ihn mit der blanken Hand totschlagen können, und allen Wagners war seit jeher das Blut leicht in den Kopf gestiegen, doch dieser wandte sich ruhig zu seinem Hoftor. (page 28).

Gradually the Frisians became aware that the Cossacks were leering at their wives and daughters. Then followed a Cossack attempt to attack young Anna Bruns, and Jürgen arrived just in time to prevent her husband from murdering the villain.

"Will dein Bauer meine Leute totschlagen?" fuhr der Russe den Vorsteher an. "Sollte er seine Weib von ihnen schänden lassen?" fragte Jürgen Wagner dagegen.

"Was ist dabei, wenn noch ein anderer sie hat? In ganz Russland fragt keiner danach.

. . . Iche sehe jetzt: es gibt keinen Weg von deinem Volke zu meinem" (page 38).

Hauke Peters was engaged to Telse Detlev, the prettiest girl in the village. To save her from attack he found it unavoidable to kill two Cossacks, and with Klaus Niegebüll's aid buried them.

Jürgen Wagner . . . war allmählich ganz zum christlichen Eiferer geworden, der die Not wie ein Aszet mit Wollust trug. Weil er an einer "Anderung hier allermeist zweifelte, versprach er seiner Gemeinde reichen Lohn im Himmel. Da verlor er den grössten Teil der Männer. Sie gingen wohl noch ins Bethaus, mit mehr Eifer aber noch zu den heimlichen Konventikeln, die Klaus Niegebüll um Mitternacht in seiner Diele abhielt, und in denen wenig von Ergebung und viel von Totschlagen die Rode war. (page 48f.).

Mette was the orphan daughter of a Frisian father and a Russian mother, despised and lonely in the village. The Russian inspector became interested in her in a not altogether unworthy sense. But when Klaus Niegebüll and Uwe Brink learned of her visits to his living quarters they took her out of the village at night and sent her into the forest where they suddenly heard a pack of wolves howling.

"Hast du *daran* gedacht, Ohm Niegebüll?" Klaus Niegebüll lachte, wie wenn ein Hammer auf Eisen fällt.

Daran hätte sie denken sollen, ehe sie Schande über das Dorf brachte. (page 68).

Nobody missed her but the inspector. He avenged her death by permitting his Cossacks to attack and kill Jürgen Wagner's fifteen-year-old daughter. Klaus Niegebüll whispered to him, "Lass heute dein Christentum und nimm die Flinte." Jürgen went to the house of the Russians, cooly shot down seven, and killed another with the butt of his gun. Klaus and his followers accounted for the rest. Four weeks later a searching party found nineteen corpses under the charred remains of the Cossack barracks.

The wheels of a long column of wagons were meanwhile carrying the Frisians to a new home in Persia. Their leader was a man with broad shoulders and grim lips, who would sooner have let the reins drop than loosen his grip on the gun. All around the wagons rode men like him, of powerful build and with the glance of wild cats. The leader was Jürgen Wagner.

Though the Mennonites are not mentioned by name in this story, the German reading public and reviewers commonly assumed that the Mennonites are depicted in the Frisians, and rightly so, for the doctrines and organization would fit no other group. When the story was filmed in Germany in 1935 many attacks on the Mennonites were published, for the German public as a whole did not realize that the Mennonites of that country were no longer nonresistant. The German Mennonites particularly resented Kortwich's oversimplification of the final choice between religion or fight. They are proud of their record in the World War, in which the percentage of officers to privates among the fallen soldiers was three times that of the general population, and feel that their religion has not suffered thereby.

Friesennot shows unmistakable signs of having been written as anti-Russian propaganda, and on a racial rather than a political basis. The Russians are drawn as vile caricatures of human beings; they, for instance, do not have faces but "gelbe Fratzen." They are imbecile, gluttonous, and lazy, everything that the Frisians are not. The Frisians always remain loyal to their "Deutschtum," even after they have given up their religion. The purpose of the story was evidently to show that the clash between the Russians and Germans was inevitable; for since the Germans were superior in every sense to the Russians, they could not yield to their brutality. Religion is only incidental to the theme.

As far as the situation in Russia is concerned, the story is a mixture of fact and fiction. The situations are too greatly simplified to bear much historical analysis. The Mennonites have never been so completely withdrawn from the world as this colony was; on the contrary, they have always been alert farmers. It would also be extremely unlikely that they would several times cast aside and then resume their practice of nonresistance. In Friesennot they left their homes in Frisia to maintain it, dropped it to defend themselves in various difficulties en route, adopted it again in their seclusion in Russia, abandoned it when Russia claimed their young men as soldiers, and held to it in their dealings with the Bolsheviks, but turned the girl who had misstepped out into the wolf-infested forest, and then finally dropped their religion with their nonresistance. This entire picture is at least improbable, if not impossible. It is not at all likely that a group of the size of this one could escape from Russia unnoticed; nor is it probable that the Frisians of the middle of the seventeenth century had to leave their homes for conscience' sake.

Kortwich's picture is artistic and literary rather than photographic. The nearest approach to historical truth is the resemblance of the village's self-defense to the "Selbstschutz" which was established in a few of the Mennonite villages in the Ukraine in 1918 after the German army of occupation withdrew. (German officers trained Mennonite youth for the Selbstschutz before their withdrawal). The "Selbstschutz" companies for a time successfully defended the villages against bandit raids such as those led by the notorious leader Machno, but in the end resistance became useless, and the revenge taken by the victorious bands on the Mennonite villages which had resisted was terrible. By contrast those Mennonite villages which had remained nonresistant were spared much suffering. The Soviet government was led also to question the sincerity of the Mennonite nonresistant prin-

ciples as a result of the "Selbstschutz" affair. Even the Russian peasants were bitter against the Mennonites who had been unwilling to defend the country against attack but ready to shed blood to defend themselves. However, the resemblance mentioned above is probably only accidental since it is scarcely probable that the author knew about the "Selbstschutz." If he did, he falsified the historical consequences for the sake of his point, which was to show that even the most fanatically peace-loving German could not maintain peaceful relations with the bolsheviks.

Friesennot was criticized by Dr. Dirk Cattepoel, pastor of the Mennonite Church in Crefeld, Germany, in *Menn. Blatter,* 82, No. 4, pp. 37-8 (April, 1935), under the title, "Wie man uns nicht sehen soll." The article reflects the German Mennonite resentment at being considered nonresistant in practice and thus unworthy to serve as loyal members of the German "völkische Gemeinschaft." The filming of the book in Germany as anti-Russian propaganda led to a second protest in the *Menn. Blätter,* 83, No. 3, p. 22 (March, 1936) by Dr. Christian Neff, pastor and historian in the Palatinate, under the title, "Der Film Friesennot und die Mennoniten." There is further discussion of both the book and the film by Josef Gingerich in the article "Friesennot" in *Mennonitische Jugendwarte,* Vol. XVI (April, 1938) pp. 25-29.

The answer of Kortwich to nonresistance is of course wholly unacceptable to the Mennonite who still believes thoroughly that the faith of his fathers in nonresistance is not only Biblical but practicable today. *Friesennot* is an *ex parte* statement, intended by its author to pillory nonresistance and hold it up to contempt. Several hundred thousand Mennonites in North America, including over twenty thousand who once lived in Russian Mennonite villages under bolshevism in a situation similar to that depicted in *Friesennot,* will reject in no uncertain terms Kortwich's challenge to surrender nonresistance as unworkable and inadequate, and will continue to build a Christian brotherhood on the basis of the nonresistant way of peace and love taught and practiced by Christ and the early church. What a pity that the German Mennonite readers of *Friesennot* felt only the slur on their nationalism and not the challenge to the way of life of their martyr forefathers. As an illustration of the successful practice of nonresistance under test in complete antithesis to his own theme, Kortwich might read the story by Edward Richards in the *Atlantic Monthly,* May, 1923, entitled, "The Test of Faith, An Experience with the Kurds, a Chapter in Nonresistance."

Goshen, Indiana.

Culture of a Contemporary Rural Community, The Old Order Amish of Lancaster County, Pennsylvania. By WALTER M. KOLLMORGEN. Rural Life Studies: 4. Bureau of Agricultural Economics, United States Department of Agriculture, Washington, D. C., 1942. Pp. 105, Charts, Illustrations.

During the year 1940 the United States Department of Agriculture had six of its field workers study six American communities. One of these was an unstable "Dust Bowl" community in Kansas. Another was the highly stable community of the Old Order Amish in Lancaster County, Pennsyl-

vania. The remaining four arranged themselves between these extremes. The purpose of the study was to discover the factors that tended to make communities stable or unstable.

Walter Kollmorgen and his sister, both of whom speak High German, lived in the Lancaster County community four months. Although they were outsiders, their sympathy with the views of these people enabled them to enter into the life of the Amish and to make observations so highly accurate that one marvels at the comprehensive picture Kollmorgen presents. The reviewer was unable to detect any errors in the description of Amish customs and practices; furthermore, the Biblical and rationalistic bases for their practices are always correctly given. Few writers have been able to present the Amish as objectively as has Kollmorgen. One hopes that he will publish the additional historical material he gathered which the limits of space did not permit to be included in the monograph.

The first part of the study identifies and characterizes the Old Order Amish community east of Lancaster city, Pennsylvania. The history and the background of the settlement are then presented. In the third section under "Making a Living," land use and the growing commercialization of agriculture in the community are discussed. Following this section, community organization and values are studied. Next the impact of the farmer's expanding world upon the thought and practices of Amish farmers is analyzed. Finally, there is a study of integration and disintegration in community and individual life.

Why was the Old Order Amish community of Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, one of the most stable in the United States? Kollmorgen's answer is that it is a Christian community that has learned how to preserve its values and patterns of behavior. It has learned that it must preserve its rural life to avoid extinction. It has learned the most successful farming methods through which has come the economic success necessary to insure its outward prosperity. At the same time it has developed techniques of education and persuasion that tend to keep its people united and separated from the larger society.

The struggle has been difficult. Disintegrating forces at times have been partially victorious. To overcome them rules have been enforced that to the outsider seem irrational and arbitrary. One of the most difficult rules to enforce is the one against the ownership of automobiles. Yet the Amish are allowed to ride in their neighbor's cars. They are convinced that should the ownership and use of automobiles become general, their young people would go to the cities for entertainment and employment, where their marks of distinction in dress and outlook upon life would soon disappear. They oppose high schools because they are convinced that these institutions educate their young people away from the farms and the practices of their community.

If Amish communities will finally disappear, it will perhaps be because their spiritual resources were no longer adequate to cope with their economic problems. As long as their communities possessed economic self-sufficiency, outside forces could be kept out fairly successfully But now their economic self-sufficiency is in retreat. Because of their great competition to locate near the center of the community where the environment is more safe than on the fringes of the settlement, land prices there have gone too high. These

farmers, therefore, resort to commercial agriculture in order to get a large cash income to pay their debts. In one Lancaster County township, 85 per cent of the farmers raise tobacco because this is a product that brings in large sums of cash with which to buy the high-priced land. This is done in spite of the fact that among them there is a wide-spread disapproval of the use of tobacco. Although mutual aid in financial matters is still practiced, the young men are finding it increasingly difficult to borrow from their Amish brethren the large sums necessary to purchase and equip one of these expensive farms. They are, therefore, going to outside agencies to obtain their loans. This, too, breaks down the self-sufficiency of the community.

Other Mennonite groups may take as a serious warning the observation Kollmorgen makes in his concluding paragraphs.

> Recognition of the fact that a rural life is essential for the survival of the church does not solve the problems that result from the regulation limiting members to rural occupations. To remain on the land bespeaks an expansion of land holdings, and such expansion brings problems in its wake. The pressure on the land in Lancaster County and resultant high prices for land have led to the establishment of new communities from time to time. It is possible that available land for the new communities may be increasingly difficult to find. If and when appropriate land for community expansion or for new communities cannot be found, the resistance to urban communities may weaken. Once factory and urban jobs are accepted, the peculiar and rural ways of life are seriously threatened.
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> Further commercialization of agriculture may serve to intensify the financial problems and undermine the community stability in that expenses may outrun income. Commercial agriculture is usually associated with hazards that do not badger the self-sufficient or nearly self-sufficient tiller of the soil. . . . The result may be serious financial difficulties and decreased security and stability on the land. The Amish are not so self-sufficient financially as they once were.

This study touches almost every phase of the life of this people. Their social customs, work habits, worship, parent-children relations, financial practices, education, political views, qualities demanded of community leaders, cultural standards, and other topics are clearly treated. The outline of study here followed might well be made the model to be used in making similar studies of other Amish and Mennonite communities.

Kollmorgen's monograph is, however, more than a sociological and economic survey. It presents sound history. He informed himself fully on the history of the Amish, as is proved by his footnotes which refer to the best historical treatises on the subject. Too often authors attempt to write on the Amish and related groups without first absorbing the needed historical background material.

Bethel College — *Melvin Gingerich*

The Inspiration of the Scriptures. By LORAINE BOETTNER, Th.M., D.D. Second Edition. Wm. B. Erdmans Publishing Company, Grand Rapids, Michigan, 1940. Also obtainable from the author, 3738 Kanawha Street, N. W., Washington, D. C. Price—$1.00.

In a brief monograph of eighty-eight pages Dr. Boettner presents an able treatment and defense of the evangelical doctrine of the plenary inspiration of the Scriptures. Following an introductory chapter, he discusses the

claim to inspiration made by the writers of Scripture, as well as the testimony of Jesus to the Old Testament. In Chapter III he examines "the nature of the influence by which inspiration is accomplished." He then discusses certain alleged errors in the Bible, concluding Chapter IV with a splendid statement on the Bible and science. Chapter V is an apologetic for the trustworthiness of the Scriptures, while the last chapter treats of the plenary character of the Bible's inspiration.

Whatever else can be said of the book, it must be agreed on all sides that Dr. Boettner's view of the Scriptures is the view of Jesus and the apostles; indeed, it is the view which the Bible takes of itself. The author points out that although the various Christian bodies do differ on many points of doctrine, yet "all branches of the Church, Protestant and Catholic, alike, have agreed with instinctive judgment that the Bible is trustworthy and that its pronouncements are final" (p. 11). The author is concerned that today's Christians see clearly the crucial nature of the question, Is the Bible really inspired of God, speaking to us infallibly of God and His will for man? The position of the author is frankly evangelical, but he is careful to guard himself against any theory of mechanical dictation; he is quite aware of the individuality of the writers of the Bible, while holding firmly to the central truth of the perfect union of the divine and human elements of Scripture.

Every writer would doubtless make his own selection of alleged errors in the Bible, and would give his own explanation of them; it is therefore hardly in order to offer any criticism of chapter IV. Were a reviewer to suggest other problem verses, the author would probably reply that the chapter was not intended to present more than a sampling of alleged mistakes. Perhaps, however, it would have been worth while to illustrate several errors of transcription and translation for the sake of some laymen who may think of the King James Version as itself infallible.

Although written in an easy style and suitable for the popular reader, *The Inspiration of the Scriptures* is nevertheless not lacking in theological depth and in careful scholarship. The author's insight as to the ultimate ground of assurance that the Bible is God's Word (pp. 82-87) is a good example of the thorough way in which he has handled his subject. The reviewer rejoices in the publication of this splendid book and would commend it to all readers of the REVIEW, particularly to the Mennonite ministry.

Goshen College John C. Wenger

Christian Newcomer: His Life, Journal, and Activities. Edited by SAMUEL S. HOUGH. Published by the Board of Administration, Church of the United Brethren in Christ, 1430 U. B. Building, Dayton, Ohio, 1941. 293 pages. Price, $1.00.

The main body of this volume comprises the substance and the gist of Christian Newcomer's *Journal,* the day by day record which he left of his life, travels, and experiences as an evangelist over a period of thirty-five years, from 1795 to 1830. There is a brief introductory chapter by the editor and compiler of the volume. Interspersed in the *Journal* are some interesting notes on the early ministerial conferences and the actions taken, which finally led to the formation of a separate denominational body. At the end there is

a seven-page index which is fairly complete and makes the volume useful for reference purposes.

Christian Newcomer (1749-1830) as a young man was a Mennonite of Lancaster county, Pennsylvania. Some time after his baptism he underwent a marked religious awakening, an experience which soon brought him in contact with the enthusiastic revivalism then being fostered among the German-speaking population of colonial Pennsylvania and Maryland by men like William Otterbein, German Reformed minister, George Adam Geeting, also a German Reformed minister, and Martin Boehm, a Mennonite minister. The two last named had been expelled from their respective denominations because of their enthusiastic practice of a type of preaching and piety which was an innovation for that time. The work of these men, with whom Newcomer early joined forces, was in a way the German counterpart of the revivalistic labors of the Methodist missionaries from England who began to come to the American colonies about 1770.

After his marriage Christian Newcomer moved to near Hagerstown, Maryland, and there his services were soon much in demand as a preacher and evangelist. He preached widely in the years that followed in homes, barns, and wherever the people came together, so that thousands were converted under his preaching. His tireless energy and devotion to the gospel carried him on many preaching tours. He made something like twenty-five preaching tours on horseback across the mountains into western Pennsylvania and Ohio. Not long after 1800 he was one of the leaders in organizing the body of Christians known as the Church of the United Brethren in Christ. Newcomer was one of the first ordained bishops of that body.

This book will be of special interest to students of American Mennonite history for several reasons. For one thing it sheds welcome and interesting light on that strong wave of religious awakening which swept over the early American frontier before and after the year 1800, a movement which did much to Christianize the region from central Pennsylvania as far west as Indiana and Illinois. It was this same movement too with its stirring enthusiasm which drained away from older conservative groups like the Mennonites, Amish, and Dunkers considerable numbers of their people into the newer and more aggressive denominational bodies. The numerous personal names contained in the Journal of Newcomer and of families with whom he stopped or lodged, or at whose homes he preached, these will interest family historians and others who wish to trace the movement of certain families in the early decades when the population was in constant flux, mostly in the direction of the setting sun. Many typical Mennonite and Amish family names occur in the course of this book.

Scottdale, Pennsylvania Edward Yoder.